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UNANIMITY—Master-Wheel to World Understanding

By ALFRED J. HOTZ

MANY PEOPLE have already relegated the United Nations to an early grave. Certain ardent internationalists have fallen prey to that easy pessimism that follows in the wake of difficult peacetime adjustments. Smug isolationists gleefully say, "I told you so," as they happily enumerate the present frictions and factions within the United Nations. Much of this public confusion is due to a misunderstanding of the philosophy behind the United Nations and its operating principles, as well as to a misreading of the historic realities of international affairs.

At the San Francisco Conference, the dilemma of all international organization was frankly faced—that dilemma, was, and is, the need for merging power with responsibility. One of the irrevocable facts of international life is that world power resides in the hands of the few Great States. Geographic position, resources, natural and human, and applied modern technology have created a tremendous disparity between the Great Powers and the lesser powers. Modern war on a large scale can only be waged by a Great Power or combination of powers. Conversely, total peace can only be achieved through unified support of the existing peace structure by the Great Powers combined. Whenever a Great State is ready to risk the will to peace of the rest of the world, war will inevitably follow. Great Powers alone can seriously test and threaten the prevailing status quo. Equally, unity of the Great Powers is the fundamental requirement for a lasting peace.

Admitting that Great States have the

power of war and peace, what is more important still is to make them *responsible* for war or peace. This basic principle was recognized by the framers of the UN Charter, who wrote therein the operating mechanism known as *unanimity*. Unanimity is not a new concept, for such was the voting procedure of both the League of Nations Council and Assembly. Furthermore, a unanimous vote of the participating nations is merely a reiteration of that ancient principle of international law of consent—consent of the States responsible for decision and subsequent action. What is new is that the UN Charter grants unanimity as a special privilege only to the Great Powers—Great Britain, China, France, the U.S.S.R., and the United States. Unanimity, in short, means that the affirmative vote of all the Big Five is required for important decisions and substantive action by the Security Council, the executive body of the United Nations. Since, according to Article 24 of the Charter, the Security Council is charged with "primary responsibility" for the maintenance of international peace and security, it is clear that power and responsibility are successfully merged. Unanimity then becomes the "master-wheel" to world peace, the irreducible minimum for world cooperation.

Unanimity, as a philosophy and procedure in international affairs, stems from three vital experiences of World War II. First, there resulted the practical recognition that no nation, however great and powerful, can stand alone in modern war. It took a highly coordinated Allied coalition successfully to fight and win against the common enemy, the Axis. Russia's

magnificent Red Army could not by itself have defeated the Nazi hordes. Nor could America's tremendous military and industrial power alone have brought the aggressors to their knees. Victory required the combined efforts of Russian blood, British courage, and American technology. At the Moscow, Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam Conferences, all decisions, military and otherwise, were taken by unanimous vote. Political decisions necessary to make peace and keep it will require the self-same unanimity of the major powers. The system of voting incorporated into the United Nations is then the continuation of this established wartime practice. In brief, what is demanded is affirmative consent of the Big Five in order to establish and preserve the newly-won peace.

A second logical reason for unanimity, which was the outgrowth of the war experience, is the common-sense realization that the present Big Five have widely divergent interests. To ignore, or to gloss over, the variant philosophies and economic ideologies as between Russia and the Western States is either sheer stupidity or blatant hypocrisy. One of the basic assumptions of the United Nations is that the world is large enough and mature enough to withstand divergent interests if there is the will for adjustment and amelioration. To think otherwise, or to act contrariwise, (i.e. to assume that socialism and democracy cannot live side-by-side) is to predestine World War III. It is altogether possible that this basic assumption is false—but if divergent interests and ideologies cannot be resolved by patient peacetime revision within the framework of the UN, then there is only one alternative, that is World Empire. If, in other words, the Soviet Union and the West are incapable of adjustment and compromise within the UN, then one system or the other must consciously pursue the policy of world conquest, if only to preserve and maintain that system's cherished rights.

Unanimity serves as the mechanical technique whereby common agreement can be reached on generalities though there be wide-spread disagreement on the specifics. Loose terminology, such as "free elections," and "democratic governments" found in the Yalta Communique, represents a common denominator on the generalities of peace. How divergent the American and Soviet interpretations are as to whether the present Polish Government is democratically "free" or not is a case in point. Questions of human rights, justice, social and economic opportunities written into the UN Charter are other illustrations of unanimity on general objectives. This represents a milestone on the road to peace. Specific implementation of these desirable aims remains, of course, the bone of contention among the nations of the world. No change in the existing political and economic ideologies is peaceably possible unless assented to freely and voluntarily by the Big Five, or at least by the Big Two, Russia and the United States. Patient compromise and practical adjustment within the framework of the United Nations is the only realistic approach to these deep-seated problems.

It is, however, the third lesson of the war experience that focuses attention on the basic reality of unanimity. Heretofore, all previous attempts at international organization have faltered over the sacred principle of "national sovereignty." Patriotic nationalism caused each nation-state to insist on its own right of decision and its own freedom of action, divorced of any international responsibility. All states, large and small, proclaimed legal "sovereign equality." In actual practice, the small powers had the sovereign right only to commit suicide, or to be reduced to slavery before the irreverent might of the Axis aggressors. So-called sovereignty was restored to small states, not by legal theorists, but by the military and economic power of the Great States. What now becomes irrevocably clear is that

small nations may enjoy a certain measure of sovereignty if, and only if, the Big Five remain united. Conversely, once unanimity is no longer possible, small powers will lose their freedom. They will, of necessity, have to become mere appendages to one or the other of the contending warring Great Power "blocs"—and live or die thereby. Unanimity serves as the barometer of freedom or slavery for small states.

While the above appears almost elemental, what is not sufficiently appreciated nor aptly understood is that the same holds true for even the Great Powers. To put it simply, when there is no unanimity even the Great States have a negligible amount of national sovereignty. Such freedom of decision and action as a Great Power may wish to enjoy is contained within certain prescribed limits. A future aggressor can force decisions upon a sovereign power that it would not otherwise willingly take, i.e. conscription of manpower, resources, industry, money. A "peace-loving" Great State has only a fictional sovereignty when it must accept war or die. Unanimity points the way to a cooperative enterprise for the preservation of international peace and the maintenance of national sovereignty. Great States require unanimity quite as much as do the lesser powers, for without a unity of decision there can only be an ugly disunity and ultimate conflict. This is the third and most important lesson of World War II.

Although experience presumes to be a great teacher, it is frequently difficult to act upon it, since other factors and forces impinge thereon. One of the unpleasant facts about international affairs is the fear that all states have of too-powerful an international organization. If the concentration of power in the United Nations becomes too great, America's freedom of action in certain activities might be in jeopardy. A highly powerful United Nations could insist that the United States bow to its will in spite of

the fact that we should consider such an order inimical to our national self-interest. This fear of an all-powerful international organization, especially one not directly under our complete control, is the great enigma to world peace planners. For the fundamental problem resolves itself into the simple question, "Who pushes the button" in the new international organization? No Great Power can enter a world organization that it is unable to hold at least in temporary check. No major statesman could survive politically a voluntary relinquishment of the sovereign right of having a voice in the final decision of international action. In short, this irrevocable fact denotes unanimity. Its negative connotation is expressed through the so-called "veto." Fear of whatever Great Power, or combination of powers, may "push the button" in the United Nations makes necessary the safety valve, the protective brake, the "veto."

The United Nations is not, and was not, intended to be a World Government. Neither the United States Senate nor the Russian Politbureau would have countenanced such transfer and delegation of sovereign power to the new world organization. Nationalism and the intense feeling for sovereign rights, as well as the fear and suspicion of Great Powers for each other, would not then, and will not now, permit the United Nations sufficient power to coerce a Great State against its will. American public opinion will not as yet agree to a United Nations "police force" that can enforce decisions against the United States. That, because of our fortunate voting position at present, we may wish to use the UN against the Soviet Union is another matter. Protection against a super-government, against the predatory action of an over-ambitious majority, is expressed in the unanimity clause of the UN Charter. Part of the price of American, as well as of Russian, adherence to the UN was the inclusion of the unanimous voting procedure on substantive matters. Like the presidential

"veto" in American domestic politics, the UN "veto" is the guardian of the legitimate minority interests, whether that minority be Russia now, or some day in the future the United States, if and when more nations accept socialism. So long as no world government is immediately attainable, the only protection for minority nations is the sovereign power of the "veto."

Unanimity reminds the world of the practical realities of present day international affairs. Deep-seated international problems, especially those that involve the vital interests of a Great Power, cannot be resolved by the simple procedure of a majority vote. Technically speaking, a majority vote in the Security Council is possible. Politically and militarily speaking, such a majority vote is impracticable. It is a monstrous delusion to the point of imbecillity. Neither Russia with her satellites, nor the United States with hers, constitutes a small minority in world politics. A Soviet bloc of nearly 300 million in population, strategically situated in the "Heartland" of Eurasia, will not furnish a simple military engagement for UN enforcement, even though the full support of the Western bloc of over 400 million is placed at its disposal. Those Russia haters who are anxious to force the Soviet Union into the minority position through manipulation of UN votes, have failed to look at these "power" facts. A military showdown between the Soviet and Western blocs, within or without the United Nations, must take into account also the possibility of civil war in China, France, and Italy, who together comprise a population of over 500 million.

Majority voting in the UN will not bring peace but war. The potential and actual political, economic, and ideological power of each of these two giant behemoths, Russia and the United States, constitutes no easy problem of enforcement. The inexorable logic of this fact may come as a huge disappointment to those

Russophobes who desire to use UN machinery to isolate the Soviet Union and "contain" Communism. Unanimity serves as a stern warning to such rash thoughts and irrational deeds. It should be quite apparent that the UN was never designed as a mechanism to "police" either the United States or the Soviet Union. Neither the concept of national sovereignty, the military reality, nor the political dynamics of the present "power" situation will permit such.

Even though there were no "veto," the majority in the UN cannot enforce a decision against the will of either Russia or America. Abolish the "veto" and the "power" factors still remain the same. The power potential of the Soviet Union is too great for ordinary international police action. It will require a full-fledged war to compel obedience to a UN order that is not freely assented to. Once a Great Power openly defies the rest of the members of the UN the result is a major war. Once unanimity on *vital* issues of world peace is no longer possible we enter the opening stages of World War III. The world has need for a "clear and present danger signal" whenever a future aggressor looms on the horizon. Constant and malicious misuse of unanimity (the veto) is mute evidence to this unhappy fact.

World public opinion can focus attention upon the Security Council, where the Great Powers have both the power and responsibility for world peace. Acceptance of UN obligations has placed the Great States in the unenviable position of responsibility for finding common agreement on uncommon problems. Unanimity does not, as most observers believe, mean the ability of each of the Big Five to block decisions by the veto, although this evil exists. Rather it means that in the present distribution of power potential nothing of importance can be accomplished for world peace without the common agreement of the Great Powers. It is this *positive* aspect of unanimity that has been forgotten and neglected by both statesmen and publi-

cists. Too much attention has been given to the negative connotation—the “veto.” Unanimity logically is a positive concept, for peace is indivisible. All Great Powers must be on the same side, must participate affirmatively in collective action, or we enter the preliminary stages of a new and more horrible war. They must be on the same team, and unanimity helps to achieve the necessary teamwork. In this world of uncertainty, of clashing interests, of diverse ideologies there is a resounding need for some symbol of unity—which is spelled UNANIMITY.

As a device, a mechanism, unanimity has tremendous positive possibilities. It requires the Great Powers, though they differ violently to sit down, to bargain, to argue, to call each other names, but finally to come to some adjustment of their differences. Unanimity puts the spotlight of world publicity upon the Great Powers. They have the responsibility for world peace and such fearsome responsibility cannot be easily evaded. As former Secretary of State, Edward Stettinius, reported to Congress after the San Francisco Conference: “What the Charter does is to place special and binding obligations upon the great nations to use—in unity for peace, not separately for war—the power that is already in their hands. The unanimity rule is an expression of those special obligations and their commensurate responsibilities.” In short, the Charter imposes obligatory unity on the Big Five.

It is fairly obvious that the Great Powers have not acted thus far in the required spirit. The jockeying back-and-forth, the diplomatic maneuvering, the extension of the game of power politics by both Russia and the United States reveals only too well that unanimity does not exist. Both West and East are engaged in a gigantic struggle for power—for the establishment of strategic positions, for the creation of advance bastions to use against each other, should the occasion arise. The Soviet Union by extension of its security sphere has frequently used

questionable practices through terror and suppression of minority opposition. The United States in her attempt to prevent, or at least retard Russian recovery from the effects of the most devastating war in history, has now openly announced the policy to “contain” communism.

It is useless to point an accusing finger at Russia, or to try to cast all blame on the intransigence of the Soviet Union for the present impasse in the international situation. What is necessary is a return by both powers to the basic concept of the United Nations—that all ideologies whether capitalist, socialist, or communist can live amicably in one world. What is required then is enlightened statesmanship both in Washington and the Kremlin that is based on mutual understanding, mutual conciliation, and mutual accommodation. A new drive for united action within the framework of the United Nations must be made. A new appreciation for the virtues of unanimity instead of its vices must be forthcoming.

The Truman Doctrine, which not only by-passes the UN, but openly violates and flouts its basic principles, is not the answer. To “contain” Russian Communism with military bastions in Greece and Turkey demanded action outside the United Nations. By so doing, however, President Truman violated Articles 1, 14, 34, 39, and 108 of the Charter. These provide for collective, not unilateral, action in the interests of the preservation of peace and security. It would have been preferable that the Administration had put the unanimity clause to a decisive test in the Greek affair. That is to say, a public airing before the UN of charges and counter-charges would have put Russia to a test as to her ultimate intentions. If the evidence of infiltration and interference was fairly clear, the Soviet Union might have hesitated to use the “veto,” or having done so Moscow would have had to accept the stigma of deliberate obstructionism. In either case, unanimity would have proved its worth.

Unfortunately the unilateralism of the Truman Doctrine not only weakens the United Nations but inflicts the kind of negativism on the world that is purely defensive in character. Recently, the Marshall Plan gives evidence of a possible return to the concept of concerted action on a positive basis. A program of economic reconstruction for all of Europe, including the Soviet Union, is the only real means of establishing a stable and lasting peace. Instead of an anti-Communist orientation the Marshall program portends a pro-Europe policy. Instead of negativism it is positivism that is offered to a chaotic world. To be truly successful the Marshall Plan must become a United Nations program, not a purely American one. It could and should evolve a cooperative enterprise of mutual assistance and concerted action by all the Great Powers with subsidiary help from the lesser powers. Reasonable concessions and adjustments by both Russia and the United States may result in a new synthesis of ideologies, with Europe as the laboratory of human endeavor. Unity of spirit and unanimity of action can yet be restored, given the proper will to cooperate.

Such a renewed attempt to find a unity of purpose and of concerted action may not prove immediately successful, for the deep-seated cleavages and fearsome suspicions are too great as yet to achieve the impossible. What is to be hoped, however, is that both Russia and the United States will recognize their special obligations and commensurate responsibilities to the world. A return to positive and constructive efforts for a workable United Nations, instead of the negative and destructive policies of the past is the only reasonable approach to world peace. Farsighted statesmanship from both the Kremlin and Washington is needed. That will entail the slow process of persuasion by argument and the removal of suspicion, of adjustment, of accommodation, and ultimately of agreement—in other words, by the utilization of the unanimity clause.

This will not be an easy task. The Soviet Union, as evidenced by the Hungarian *coup d'etat*, resorted to the self-same unilateralism as did the United States in the Truman Doctrine. More hopeful has been the extreme patience and impartial understanding manifested by the United States in the attempt to create an International Authority for the control of atomic energy. Despite discouragements, America is still trying to find a satisfactory formula within the principle of unanimity. Reasonable concessions by the United States are still possible without endangering our national security. We must take the calculated risk of further accommodation to the Gromyko proposals in order more fully to test the true Soviet intentions. Continued negotiation and consultation must be carried on to the point of exhausting every conceivable means for amelioration of the differences. Although the Baruch Plan has at present more than a majority of votes favorable to it, that still isn't sufficient. Soviet strength and power is too great to ignore by mere vote-taking. As Oscar Lange, Polish delegate to the UN Atomic Energy Commission, so ably said: "Several times at our earlier meetings great insistence was put upon reaching an immediate vote. As representative of Poland, I expressed myself against taking votes, for I believe this can lead only to an increase in the differences among us with stress on these differences, rather than further attempts at conciliation." If, however, after such reasonable testing, Moscow remains completely uncooperative, the rule of unanimity will have provided the "clear and present danger signal" to the United States and the rest of the world.

Unanimity is then the master-wheel to world understanding, for it places responsibility for world peace where it belongs, with the Great Powers. It focuses world attention upon them as they cooperate together in the United Nations, or operate against each other outside of that body. As a positive approach to world

peace, unanimity of the Great Powers offers a constructive solution. Cooperation and unified action are encouraged thereby. Unanimity's negative connotation, the "veto," provides a "clear and present dan-

ger signal" of international tension. The world awaits the proper appreciation and constructive use of the United Nations and of unanimity—the master-wheel to world understanding.



"Go Ye Into The Land"

MIKLOS ADLER

As Russia Sees Us

Contemporary Bourgeois Sociology on Problems of War and Peace¹

By P. THEODOSEEV

(Translated from the Russian by George I. Bobrinskoy)

Much of the current mistrust between the United States and the Soviet Union arises, we believe, from mutual misunderstanding. The article which we herewith publish undoubtedly expresses the official Russian point of view upon a problem fundamental to our Russian relations. We are indebted to Professor George I. Bobrinskoy of the University of Chicago for a literal translation which we have compressed and altered somewhat in details, not we believe falsifying the text in any particular. The author's style is somewhat redundant and heavy. His ascription to American sociologists and publicists of a "party line" will, we believe, particularly interest American readers.

—The Editors.

THE POLITICS of the wartime and the postwar period in bourgeois countries strongly influences all forms of social consciousness and, in particular, sociology. During the last few years politics has been concentrated on questions of war and peace. It is not strange that these questions have attracted the attention of bourgeois sociology. It can also be easily understood that many bourgeois politicians and publicists have engaged in sociological discussions concerning the

¹ A stenographic report of a paper read at the Historical and Philosophical Section of the Academy of Sciences, USSR, November 29, 1946. From the journal *Bolshevik*, theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, No. 22, November, 1946, page 38 ff.

causes of war and the foundations of postwar peace. One cannot say that the abundance of the literature helps its readers to clarify these problems. Rather, each new study as a rule introduces its share of bewilderment. Many bourgeois sociologists themselves admit the fruitlessness of their efforts. There are many guesses concerning the reasons for the sterility of bourgeois social science. Recently in the *American Journal of Sociology* Mr. Ogburn, the author of an article "Sociology and the Atom," surmised that the slight effectiveness of the social sciences in America is explained by the lack of financial means for the development of these sciences. "There is no doubt," he writes, "that if the sociologists had the two billion dollar fund which the physicists and engineers expended for their atomic bombs, they could, in the course of several years, recommend social regulations comparable in importance to this new invention."² Certainly two billion dollars would have greatly increased the literary productivity of the sociologist, but it is doubtful if this would have led to serious scientific discoveries in sociology. Bourgeois sociology is sterile not because it does not have sufficient financial means but because it is guided by an unscientific method of investigation of society and because it serves the aims of imperialists which are directed against the interests of the people.

² W. F. Ogburn, "Sociology and the Atom Bomb," *The American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1946, p. 268.

Considering the abundance and diversity of views and suppositions concerning the origin of the second World War, one general characteristic immediately strikes one's eye when considering bourgeois sociologists and publicists. This is the avoidance in their analysis of the connection of the second World War with the development of the contradictions of imperialism. The multitude of points of view is intended not to clarify this question but to obscure it. Only Marxian Leninist social science has been able to disclose the roots of war in the epic of imperialism and, in particular, the causes of the second World War. Leninism teaches that imperialism develops the contradictions of capitalism to their extreme limits. The unevenness and jerkiness of the development of capitalistic countries necessitates periodically a redistribution of colonies and spheres of influence. As there are already no more unoccupied lands, and the entire world is already divided, the seizure of each spot of earth by this or the other imperialistic country leads to the complication of the entire international situation. Inasmuch as unevenness is a law of the development of capitalistic states, this means that imperialism constantly creates, aggravates, and complicates one crisis after another, and each of these crises is pregnant with war. War, as Lenin has frequently repeated, is the continuation of politics only through other means.

It is well known that the policy of the imperialists is the exploitation of the toiling masses inside the country and the exploitation and subjugation of neighboring peoples, colonies, and dependent countries. Speaking about the causes and origins of the first World War, Lenin noted that they included the continuation of the policy of robbing the colonies, the subjugation of foreign nations, and the suppression of the labor movement. Precisely this policy was adopted by the governments and ruling classes of the principal imperialistic countries before the war

and this policy brought about the war. Comrade Stalin, in his speech before the electorate of the Stalin district of Moscow, gave the most profound analysis of the sources of wars in the epic of imperialism. Comrade Stalin said:

The Marxists have repeatedly stated that the capitalistic system of world economy contains within itself the elements of a general crisis and of military conflicts. Because of this, the development of world capitalism in our time is not a smooth and even movement forward, but produces crisis and military catastrophes. The fact is that the unevenness of the development of capitalistic countries usually brings about in the course of time an acute disturbance of the balance in the world system of capitalism, on which occasion that group of capitalistic countries which considers itself less well provided with raw materials and markets usually makes efforts to change the situation and to redistribute the spheres of influence to its own advantage through recourse to armed force. As the result of this the capitalistic world is divided into two hostile camps and there is war between these.³

Comrade Stalin, in his works during the time of the last World War, has shown that the German Fascistic usurpers who had provoked the second World War wanted to achieve world overlordship and the subjugation and enslavement of peoples and the liquidation of their national independence. They were fighting for such a changed world as would give the Hitlerites complete domination. The second World War, as Comrade Stalin teaches, was essentially different in character from the first World War. The principal Fascist powers had abolished the last vestiges of the bourgeois democratic freedom, had established a cruel terrorist regime, had trampled upon the principle of sovereignty and free development of small countries, had entered upon the road of conquest of foreign countries, and had stated that they wished world hegemony and the spread of a Fascist regime throughout the entire world. Be-

³ I. V. Stalin's speech at the pre-election meeting of the electors of the Stalin district of the city of Moscow, February 9, 1946, p. 6.

cause of this, the second World War against the countries of the Axis, as distinct from the first World War, took on from the very beginning the character of an anti-Fascist war of a liberated world, one of the tasks of which was also the reestablishment of democratic freedoms. This is comprehensible if the Fascist usurpers who had attacked the neighboring countries suppressed their nationals, established a Fascist regime, and threatened the liberty and independence of all the peoples of the world. Then the war of the peoples for their freedom from enemy invasion and against the threat of enslavement was a war for the defeat of Fascism, a war against Fascism, a war of liberation. Just as Lenin had found the inner springs and character of the first World War, so Comrade Stalin at the very beginning of the second World War determined its causes and its peculiarities. But, nevertheless, bourgeois sociology even now is confused as to the fundamental questions of the second World War and gives them false explanations.

* * *

One of the most widespread theories of the origin of the second World War is that war is caused by the sovereignty of nations. Among the adherents of this theory are Dewey, Mortimer Adler, Wright, and others. According to this theory the existence of sovereign nations causes anarchy in society and the clash of the interest of various nations inevitably leads to war. Dewey asserts that war is the product of political nationalism. In his opinion, chaos and anarchy in international life are caused by the lack of control over the economic system and in the region of international relations by political internationalism. Mortimer Adler in particular fiercely attacks the sovereignty of nations. "The sole cause of war," he says, "is anarchy. Anarchy originates everywhere where people or nations attempt to live together without surrendering

their right of sovereignty. The sovereignty of nations and anarchy are inseparable."⁴

As long as the sovereignty of nations exists there can be no order in the world, and it is impossible to avoid war. "The price of sovereignty is war."⁵

The author of a two volume work, *A Study of War*, Quincy Wright proceeds from the fact that thus far in history there has existed antagonism between national interests and those of humanity as a whole. Wright proposes to teach the peoples of the world to limit their national interests and to broaden the consciousness of world citizenship.⁶ Although Wright does not reach the complete denial of national sovereignty as Mortimer Adler does, he also considers the limitation of the rights and interests of nations a necessary means of avoiding wars. The adherents of this theory do not enter into an analysis of the causes of the clashes of interests among nations. They consider that the very existence of sovereign nations is an evil which causes all the hardships and disorders in society and, in the final analysis, wars. It is well known that national enmity and nationalism are produced and cultivated by the exploiting classes. An imperialistic bourgeoisie develop to its extremes the ideology of nationalism. On the soil of imperialism has grown up the horrible man-hating race theory. In itself the existence of nations cannot threaten peace. The point is: Who determines the policy of nations? Militaristic nationalism becomes the policy of those countries at the head of which stand the leaders of monopolistic capitalism who seek limitless enrichment at the expense of their own countries as well as at the expense of other peoples. Therefore the theory which sees wars as emanating

⁴ Mortimer Adler, *How To Think About War and Peace*, 1944, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶ Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, Volume 2, Chicago, 1944, p. 1176.

from the sovereignty of nations obscures the true causes of national hatred and nationalism. This theory, just as in the attempt to explain the sources of war through peculiarities of race or geographic environment, turns from the contradictions of imperialism to the allegedly eternal and natural factor which, in the opinion of the adherents of this theory, is the antagonism between nations. Many sociologists and publicists see the cause of war in insufficient education or in the mistakes of political thought. Such sociologists as Bernard and Nordskog say that education thus far has been sympathetic to the conduct of wars and that this education in the spirit of militarism serves as the causes of quarrels between peoples and thus leads to war.

* * *

Mortimer Adler appears as the zealous advocate of the creation of world government. "We know now," he assures us, "that only a world government can prevent international wars."⁷ When world government shall be created external sovereignty and political independence will lose their significance. Adler concedes that in a world community there will be subdivisions between federal and local authority, but such words as external affairs, external policy, and diplomacy will become as meaningless as the word independence.

Let no one who doesn't wish to appear ridiculous think that his nation can remain an independent country or a sovereign community, in any external significance of these words, without there resulting from this that the world become completely anarchic; there are no gradations of anarchy, just as there are no gradations of external sovereignty. Any league of independent nations will leave anarchy untouched. Nothing else except a world government will destroy anarchy and it will destroy it completely.

It is not difficult to guess the imperialistic essence of the theory of the creation of a single world government. The adher-

ents of this theory proclaim the necessity of liquidating the sovereignty of contemporary states and of subjugating all peoples of the world to one government. Along with that it is silently assumed that the main force in the world government must be America. Although other peoples will be given the right to send their representatives to the world government, nevertheless, this government, as a matter of fact, must be something like an enlarged government of the United States of America. The national independence of peoples, their state sovereignty, is liquidated. The plans for the establishment of peace by way of liquidation of the national independence of peoples and the establishment of the world hegemony of American imperialists is reactionary through and through. The defendants of this plan under the flag of a world government are counting on the subjugation of the entire world to American capital. With the invention of the atomic bomb the propaganda for the creation of a world government is being strengthened. The American sociologist, Ogburn, whom we have quoted above, considers that any agreements concerning the atomic bomb and any plans of control cannot be effective without the creation of a single world government. Therefore, Ogburn considers the creation of a single world government as an effective measure for the prevention of atomic warfare. Nevertheless, not believing himself in the feasibility of such a plan, at least in the near future, Ogburn suggests that cities and industries ought to be decentralized and in this way the possible consequences of atomic warfare softened.

Closely akin to the theory of the creation of a world government are ideas developed by the well-known Lippmann in his books, *Foreign Policy of the United States*, and *Military Aims of the United States*. He states that the idea of world government is impractical in the present-day world but that there are ways and means which can lead to the creation of

⁷ Mortimer Adler, *How to Think About War and Peace*, p. 95.

a new world order. The nucleus of this world order, according to Lippmann, must be the Atlantic community. Around this nucleus in the future must be united other regions of the world. Lippmann advocates that the United States and England should take as the starting point of their foreign policy the already existing Atlantic community. The Atlantic Ocean, in the opinion of Lippmann, is the internal sea of the friendship of nations. "The security of this friendship depends on the relations of two great powers, England and the United States. Their military alliance is the nucleus of the forces around which of necessity must be organized the security of the entire region." This community, as Lippmann points out, includes Pan America, the British community of nations, France and her neighbors, Belgium, Holland, and Scandinavia. "In the future," Lippmann thinks, "this western community will embrace Germany also and perhaps all of Europe up to the borders of the Soviet Union. The entire world," states Lippmann, "must reckon with the presence of this colossal Atlantic community and in the final analysis must join it." He considers that the organization of the United Nations cannot in truth decide the questions of war and peace. It can only occupy itself with private current affairs. Proposing this Atlantic community as the main nucleus of the future world order, Lippmann, through that very fact unveils the imperialistic character of his plans of postwar organization. The imperialistic essence of the view of Lippmann is evident, one should note, in that he considers it necessary to abolish Communistic parties within the limits of the Atlantic community. Lippmann asserts that the world and democracy can be made secure only when Communistic parties in the countries of the Atlantic community shall be placed outside the protection of the law and annihilated.⁸ In this way Lippmann,

⁸ Lippmann, "United States Foreign Policy," p. 136.

who considers himself a defender of democracy, proposes to begin the work of the establishment of peace by the suppression of elementary democratic freedoms. He does not consider the fact that millions in Western Europe have voted for candidates of the Communist party. Lippmann proposes to eradicate Communists in the countries of the Atlantic community.

* * *

But there are, however, attempts to counteract such views on the part of certain forward-looking statesmen. So Senator Pepper in his article "A Program of Struggle for Peace," published in the April issue, 1946, of the American periodical, *The New Republic*, proves that there cannot be any firm peace without cooperation and mutual agreement among the great powers.

The organization of the United Nations was founded on the principle of unity and solidarity of the Big Three. This is a community of sovereign states and not a super state or world government as the recently converted isolationist senators constantly tell us. This organization could not be and would not be approved by the United States if it were anything else. Out of the principle of sovereignty there comes the right to veto and this right of veto demands the fortification of the unity of the Big Three if the UNO is to become something real.

Pepper notes that the unity of the great powers is connected with the principle of their sovereignty and that the attempt to force upon some powers the will of some other great power would be an encroachment upon its sovereignty—of its national dignity. Why, we may ask, do bourgeois sociologists and publicists in their plans of postwar organization so unceremoniously and contemptuously treat the sovereignty of nations? Because the majority of them stand not for a democratic but for an imperialistic order of postwar organization. The imperialists do not like the principle of the sovereignty of nations. The reactionary circles of England and America arise from the fact that their own sovereignty is not threatened by

some other country but the sovereignty of other nations is an obstacle to the realization of their imperialistic plans. The imperialists trample upon the sovereignty of nations while enslaving and suppressing the peoples of the colonies, keeping their armed forces in peaceable countries, meddling in the internal affairs of other states, and forcing upon the allies of Germany such economic conditions as are incompatible with the independence of these countries. The interests of imperialism clash with the sovereignty of nations. But people are most definitely interested in the conservation and the preservation of their freedom and independence. It was in the name of liberty and independence that peoples carried on the war against the Fascist usurpers who were abolishing the sovereignty of the

democratic rights of peoples. Comrade Stalin, defining the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American united front at the beginning of the war, pointed out that in this program was anticipated the abolition of racial exclusiveness and the establishment of the equal rights of nations and inviolability of their territories as well as the liberation of enslaved nations and the reestablishment of their sovereign rights. After the defeat of the Fascist enslavers by the efforts of the Soviet people and other freedom-loving peoples, no nation will want to tolerate instead of a Hitlerite yoke an Anglo-American domination. This is why the imperialists do not like the principle of the sovereignty of nations and this is why their learned servants attempt to discredit the principle of sovereignty.

INTERVAL

By ELEANOR ALLETTA CHAFFEE

In the golden arc of space the mind
Swings like a pendulum,
Hope to despair: despair to hope,
And like a drum
Beats the flight of time within the heart:
The rhythm swings
In a staccato movement to the pace
A clock's tick brings.

The arc grows briefer, and the mind descries
Narrowing boundaries with frightened sense.
Within, the thought is tethered safe and tame:
The universe, immense,
Shrinks to horizons measured by the eye,
Punctuated by an ancient clock.
Slowly the door is closed, the rusty key
Turned without meaning, for no hand will knock.

*A Literary Foundation**

By CARL GRABO

HISTORICALLY the arts have been patronized by noble and wealthy men to the glory both of the patron and the art. How painting and music would ever have advanced in the period of the Renaissance and subsequently without the aid of sponsors who were art and music lovers is not apparent. Art and music in their higher forms are appreciated by the cultured few. Only slowly and under favorable social conditions does the best music and the best painting find a wide public. If in time it does, it is largely because of the educative work in these arts which was made possible by subsidies in some form, the commissions by private patrons, subsidies by the state, or financial prizes offered musician and painter for their work.

The endowed orchestra, opera underwritten by wealthy opera goers, competitive prizes in art exhibitions, the commissioning of painters and sculptors to beautify public buildings—all these are evident today and it is hard to see how music, painting, and sculpture would be produced as they now are without such aids. Even so, as Ruskin contended, we utilize but a small part of our potential artistic wealth. A wiser society than ours will search out all boys and girls with creative gifts, educate them, and see that they have opportunity to use their talents. Only slowly and falteringly does society move towards this conservation of our natural resources of artistic genius. Yet

were creative genius encouraged it is generally recognized that some of the arts cannot thrive in a competitive money-minded world without outside aid. Why then do we not include literature among the arts which need assistance?

There is a persuasion abroad that literary genius is always recognized and that with due application and determination it will ultimately succeed. In proof there are many instances of men in all the arts who have wrested fame from a hostile or indifferent world. When one succeeds may not all? The mute inglorious Miltons did not duly apply themselves. Something was lacking in them. Something is certainly lacking when men of parts fail in their ambitions, but the failure may be due to no spiritual fault in themselves. It may be due to lack of nervous and physical strength wherewith to overcome obstacles, for some of the world's great talents have been housed in meagre bodies. But chief obstacle of all has been the lack of sufficient money on which to live while writing their books, or money to publish works which no publisher would risk on his own. Even though a man write a good book and find food and lodging while doing so there is no certainty that it will see the light of day. Consider the instances of Shelley and of Samuel Butler, author of *Erewhon*.

Shelley, the heir to wealth, never earned a shilling so far as is known in all his life, save some small payments for two wild Gothic romances written when an adolescent at Eton. His important works, those for which he is read today, his poems, were I believe, without exception printed at his own expense. No pub-

*This article is the greater part of the concluding chapter of a book, *The Creative Critic*, shortly to be published by the University of Chicago Press. It is here printed by the permission and through the courtesy of the publisher.

lisher would have taken the risk and their lack of sale would have justified the publisher in his judgment. Shelley, though he never succeeded to his inheritance, lived in his latter years on an allowance of £1,000 per year upon which were many demands; but he was able to pay the costs of printing his poems. Had he been poor and obliged to work hard for his bread there is no reason to believe he would have published a line. Had he somehow contrived to get a book published and had this been popular the story might conceivably have been different, though few poets, even those fairly popular, have made a living out of poetry alone. Shelley, however, was never popular in his own lifetime. Had he not had sufficient means there is small likelihood we should know he had lived.

Again, observe the instance of Samuel Butler, likewise of independent means sufficient for him to write and print his books. In his *Notebooks* he gives an accounting. But one book of his, during his lifetime, paid the costs of publication, and that book *Erewhon*. His has been a posthumous fame and success. An economic leisure enabled him to write and to publish. The world is the gainer. But what of the potential but impecunious Butlers and Shelleys of this world? We do not know of them, and therefore deny their existence. Talent will find its expression we aver. Yet we should know that this is but wishful thinking. All manner of gifted men and women have never been able to benefit mankind as they wished to do. And chief among the reasons for their failure was economic need. We know that this must be true from our own experience, observation, and the law of probability. The history of all the arts will bear out the generalization, not least in those instances of men of genius whom posterity has recognized as such but who died before their time worn out by struggle, bequeathing but a part of the genius which they could, under better circumstances, have bestowed.

A man must eat to live and to write. If he is exhausted by the effort to maintain life he will not write or but little. If to the difficulty of creation be added the difficulty of publication we may be amazed that even so many good books as there have been published, books, that is, which are caviar to the general, books appreciated by relatively few people. With popular books the case is different but who would declare that the test of a book's worth was either its publication or the extent of its sale? The sales test is the publisher's test but it is not the test either of art or of history.

No blame, or let us say little blame, attaches to the publisher for the conditions which prevail. The publisher is a man of business who, in our form of economic society, must make a profit or go out of business. True it is that some good books are published at a loss or which make little or no profit, the publisher hoping to recoup himself for these by the lucky chance of a best seller. There is an indirect profit in the publication of worthy books from which no money is made. Yet clearly, if the publisher is to stay in business his gains must exceed his losses. He cannot indulge too heavily in the luxury of publishing books which only he and a small body of readers esteem. The prospect of profit must therefore be the final and conclusive factor in a book's publication. So it not infrequently occurs that the editorial department approves the publication of a book and the sales department, with an eye only to the business side, vetoes the recommendation.

Publishers are often men of excellent literary taste, widely read, and concerned with the publication of good books and the encouragement of young authors. As has been said a number of good books are published which do not repay the costs, sometimes in the hope that the writer so encouraged will write a second book which will pay its way. But despite all the concessions and qualifications we may make, the fact still remains that the pub-

lishing business can bear but a small load of idealism and charity. It must make books to sell, and the more original the book, by and large, the less likely it is to sell. It is natural that this should be so. The common taste, the popular taste, for books as for other forms of art, is unappreciative of original work. It likes that with which it is familiar, put forth it may be with a specious air of novelty, but essentially unoriginal.

Any one with a wide experience of book making, a knowledge of writers and the ways of publishers, will know instances of excellent books which have never been published and presumably never will be. And the authors, disheartened by failure or unable for economic reasons to persist in the face of failure, have produced nothing more. It is not that publishers and their staffs of readers are unable to appreciate merit, for usually a worthy book is rejected only after long consideration and with regret. It is the book's lack of popular appeal, the unlikelihood of its success which is the cause of rejection. Publishing cannot too greatly exceed the popular taste. It may exert a slow uplifting influence, as indeed it does, and it may seek out and cultivate a small but adequate public for books which can have only a limited appeal, worthy and even great as they may be. Yet whatever our concessions and admissions the final unpalatable fact is that the publication of books is a business and that the profit consideration is the determining one in the life of our literature.

Observe that in one respect the painter has the advantage of the writer. A painting exists when it is put on canvas and hung on a wall. A book in manuscript cannot be said really to exist at all. It has at best a potential existence. No one can read it unless he holds the original manuscript and this will physically survive only as long as the fragile pulp paper on which it is typed. A printed book goes on the shelves of at least a few

libraries where some may find and read it. Its physical existence for a considerable time is fairly well assured. It may even survive a couple of centuries and in a new age better suited to its message be rediscovered. Such discoveries are not unknown to literary history and authors forgotten for centuries have come miraculously alive. No writer can ask more than this but so much he may fairly ask if his book has merit.

The task, then, is to insure the publication of worthy books which in our commercialized publishing industry have little chance of seeing the light of day. It was pointed out that the writing of books is an art even as painting pictures and composing music are arts but whereas pictures and music are considerably subsidized such is rarely the case with literature since the decline of the patronage system. How then may literature be effectively subsidized? Prizes offered new writers for first novels will not suffice, for novels are but a part of literature, and, further, the commercial taint is upon these no less than upon novels offered in the regular way of business. They are judged by the degree of their saleability. Such a subsidy as is needed should be for books, novels and others, judged wholly for their excellence. It is assumed that excellence will win some few readers and in time more, and that therefore the book will justify its publication. Upon that basis it remains to devise a practical scheme whereby good books may be discovered and their publication assured. How may this be done?

To set up a printing press, select an editor or board of editors, and invite authors to submit their works would be highly impractical. The literary foundation so established would be inundated with manuscripts and the task of selection would be enormous. A wiser plan would be to secure the aid of the commercial publishers in the task and to work with their full cooperation. The literary foundation should operate behind

the scenes and should refuse to consider any manuscript sent in by an author. Better even that its existence remain unknown so that it might serve effectively as an aid, rather than as a rival, to the commercial publisher. The way to this cooperation is wholly feasible.

As was pointed out publishers are often quick to appreciate original work and are eager to publish it provided they can safely do so. The many manuscripts submitted to a publishing house are sifted by a corps of readers who are usually intelligent, trained, and competent. Illiterate, unoriginal, and clearly impossible manuscripts are screened out and those that remain after this process go to other readings for further consideration. Those that survive the final sifting are the ones whose suitability for publication is carefully weighed. And it is at this point that the book which has many and often great merits but which for one or another reason is not commercially desirable is rejected, often regretfully rejected.

It is then that the literary foundation begins to function. It says to the publisher, "Before you return this manuscript let us see it. If we think its publication desirable we will insure you against loss. Go ahead and publish the book, giving the author his usual royalty. He need know nothing of our connection with the matter. If the sale of the book recoups the cost of publication we pay you nothing, for our insurance was unused. If the sale repays you but half your costs we will make up the deficit. You have lost nothing and risked nothing. Further you have gained in prestige if not in money, for the book you have published has done credit to your house. You are a clear gainer in the advertising you have won. Again, if the book earns a profit all is yours. The foundation asks none of it but is content that a good book has seen the light and more than pleased that its guarantee of costs was not drawn upon and can be used for some other book."

The potential gain to the publisher is even greater, though he reap no immediate financial reward. This is prospective, for the author whose book was printed, even though he made little from it, is nevertheless encouraged to write more. It may be, as often has been true, that by his third or fourth book the author will have acquired a sufficient following actually to make something from his books. He is then in a fair way to become a professional writer. Yet even though he fail to do this he has had the satisfaction of seeing his words set forth on the printed page. That in itself is a reward. Writing may never become his vocation but it can be the most satisfying of avocations.

Not one publisher but several would be needed to insure a sufficient supply of manuscripts to the literary foundation. It will be highly selective, for its means must necessarily be limited even though large, and its standards more severe than those of the commercial publisher—standards of technical and artistic skill and originality of thought. Were a dozen of the best publishers active in cooperation, each submitting five books a year, the foundation would have sixty manuscripts to consider, sufficient work for one efficient judge and editor to pass upon. If the income of the foundation permitted and were there a sufficient number of excellent manuscripts submitted let us assume that twenty might be subsidized—twenty books which otherwise would either not be printed at all or which would find a publisher only after further delays. Twenty original and timely books are a considerable number. Often one or two books, if sufficiently excellent, influential perhaps at some crisis of affairs, would more than justify the foundation's existence.

Assume as a basis for further consideration that the foundation has an endowment which permits the expenditure of \$80,000 a year for subsidizing book publication. Let us assume that books

cost on the average \$4,000 each to publish—a generous estimate. The Foundation is thus prepared to subsidize twenty books even though none of them repays a cent. But this is highly improbable. A few books will repay their entire costs, others a half, still others a third. The income of the Foundation will in practice reach to the publication of at least 25 or 30 books. Assume the conservative and lesser figure—twenty-five original and timely books, for timeliness is an essential element of the situation—the publication of so many contributions to the thought and pleasure of the world is a gift to humanity which few foundations equally endowed can rival.

Publishers being conservative men of business will no doubt be reluctant to lend their assistance to a project so obviously to their advantage. They will be suspicious of some catch in it. Or they will deny the need of such a Foundation, declaring that they reject nothing worthy of publication despite the fact that every publisher has a list of regrets, books which he rejected and from which later another publisher made money. Half of the "best sellers," to put the matter on the commercial level, have been rejected by a publisher or publishers before their acceptance by some one more fortunate. How then can a publisher so unsure where profit is concerned dare be sure where the criterion is not one of profit but of originality and artistic excellence? Original books create in themselves new standards of taste. The publisher follows rather than leads.

That great books and great writers in the past have been slow to gain recognition is historically evident. That in the notable instances of Shelley and Samuel Butler the writer's economic independence made possible the publication of his works is likewise historically true. Of the potential Butlers and Shelleys who never attained print we have only negative evidence. Complacently to assume there were none such, that men of genius

always find a way to be heard, is mere wishful thinking and contrary to all probability. Literature no less than painting and music needs to be fostered and subsidized if the level of its achievement is to surpass the level of mass appreciation. In the field of the arts the voice of the people is not the voice of God. The conservation and encouragement of creative talent in literature no less than in other arts is a matter of the gravest social concern. We endow scientific foundations, for the practical value of scientific research to human welfare is now recognized. The equal value of the arts either we do not recognize or naively assume that the arts can take care of themselves, more especially the art of literature.

The literary foundation which I have proposed, seeking to utilize existing machinery to its purposes, is not especially directed to fostering fiction and the drama though it should not ignore these. Novel and play, being potential profit makers, have a better chance of seeing the light than poetry, essays, and books of a miscellaneous character, books of literary and social criticism, philosophic, religious, such as contribute to the stream of thought which is the *élan vital* of civilization itself. Scientific and technical books can be left to other agencies. The sole test of the foundation's choice is that the book be original, a contribution to thought, and esthetically satisfying. These, surely, are sufficiently severe standards and the books which will meet them are not likely to be numerous. Yet some books there will be and to further their publication is as great a social need as to endow a research laboratory in science.

The money to test out such a foundation as I have described would be considerable but small in comparison to the endowments which are easily found for scientific foundations, charitable enterprises, and educational institutions. The experiment could be carried on a smaller scale than I have proposed though less efficiently so. Its greatest weakness is the

one incident to all institutions—the fallible human factor. The one in whose discretion must rest the final choice of the books to be subsidized should be a man of taste, culture, and tolerant mind, one willing to foster work which he recognizes as powerful, beautiful, and original even though it does not comply wholly with his own taste and standards. The discovery of such a man is admittedly not easy, though I think there are many who have the desired qualifications. What is requisite chiefly is the critic's need to recognize in himself the danger of his own limitations, the weight upon him, as upon every one, of traditional judgments. He must welcome experimentation and recognize originality even though he may not wholly approve it.

There is, too, beyond the editor or critic who should be reader and judge of the books supplied him by the publishers, the board to administer the funds, appoint him to his task, and choose his successor. Or perhaps his selection could be by some other body than the financial administrators of the foundation. Human fallibility, human conservatism, and the seemingly inevitable tendency of all organizations to degenerate from their original purposes and fall into dull routine—these are admitted dangers to the efficient working of the foundation. Perhaps the recognition of that fact may in part insure the avoidance of them. The more intelligent society which we aspire to will be conscious of its limitations and of the limitations in the ageing mind. It must do so or else degenerate, for the average age of our population constantly advances. If ours is to be a government of the ageing and the old we shall have consciously to try to keep our minds young, flexible, and responsive to new ideas. Many men contrive to remain mentally alive to advanced ages. It is a matter largely of self-awareness. To perceive the danger of mental arteriosclerosis is half the battle in its prevention.

The adequate payment of the editor competent to the task of selection is the least of our difficulties. There is small relation between artistic and critical ability and its financial reward. Indeed it may be broadly said that the greater a man's ability in the arts and sciences, unless these have some close connection to human utilities measurable in dollars, as in the case of the popular novelist or the commercial scientist, the smaller his worldly reward. And the greatest contributions to knowledge and to beauty are gifts. The best things are always free or bought at the cost of mere subsistence. A man employed to select books for publication, if he is the proper man for the job, will ask only reasonable security and a modest compensation for his work. The work is its own reward. The wage had best not be high or else the self-seekers and the ambitious will be after the job and usually, in this competitive and money-conscious world of ours, they have their way while more modest and less assertive men of greater abilities are overlooked. Matthew Arnold did not quite say that advertising is three-fourths of life.

What is wanted it is obvious is a man of wealth and vision to endow such a foundation as I have discussed. Highly intelligent, far-seeing, and socially-minded millionaires seeking projects to endow, there are none of my acquaintance. Yet if the ideas I have expressed are not merely fantastic and visionary they will not be wholly sterile. Either they or others similar, contributed by someone else, will lead to action. No one should ask more than a hearing for his thoughts. They must then live or die as they have strength to do. The literary foundation proposed has no further end than to do just that: to further the publication of ideas and to minimize to the degree of its scope the waste of talent, artistic skill, and original thought which is evident in our crude and but partly civilized society.

Jewish Prize Fighters

By HAROLD U. RIBALOW

"Give me a Jewish fighter who can be built up into a challenger for the heavyweight championship and I'll show you the man who can bring back the one million dollar gate." —TEX RICKARD

"Benny Leonard has done more to conquer anti-Semitism than a thousand text books have done." —ARTHUR BRISBANE

SOMEWHERE between these two statements lies the significance of the Jew in boxing. And the Jew in pugilism has been a tremendous figure. The recent and tragic death of Benny Leonard highlighted the role of the Jew in the history of the ring. From boxing's infancy, when Daniel Mendoza founded the modern school of fighting and won the heavyweight crown and held it from 1790 to 1795, Jews have won many titles and have added lustre to the old savage ring game.

It is generally acknowledged that the Irish and the Jews have contributed the greatest champions, the most spectacular ringmen, the best and roughest everyday pugs. There have been more than twenty Jewish ring champions and many of them, like Abe Attell, Benny Leonard, and Barney Ross, rank with the top names in the sport. But even on the lower levels there have been and there continues to be, a steady and ever-growing list of Jewish fighters.

Boxing is a hard racket. Tough people make a living out of it and, by and large, people with primitive instincts pay good money to see bouts. It is true that within

the past twenty years boxing has become "respectable." Now the ringside seats are bought by society folk, who come to see blood and boxing in ermine wraps and in tuxedos. But the fight game and the real fight fans symbolize the rougher aspects of American sporting life. To the uninitiated it is amazing that the Jew—considered by the average American as a quiet peaceable sort of fellow—has been so prominent in boxing.

When Tex Rickard said that a Jewish fighter would bring back a heavy gate, the cool-eyed gambler who brought boxing into the big money, meant that in the large cities and in New York in particular, which was the boxing center of the world, Jews would flock to the fights. And the shrewd Brisbane understood that the Jews, reviled and sneered at, would gain added dignity if a fellow Jew were to win a title. When Benny Leonard resigned as lightweight champion, all America admired him. And because Benny was as conscious of his racial dignity as Joe Louis is of his today, the Jews were given new respect, just as the Negroes are considered a trifle better than they were in pre-Joe Louis days.

Most fighters come from poverty-stricken homes or from the slum areas of the nation. Joe Louis was born in a poor cotton-picking area of Alabama; Benny Leonard and many other outstanding Jewish fighters were born in the ghetto of New York's East Side. Most fighters have known hunger and lack of decent clothing and shelter. They were brought up with pinching need at their side. They know that money means salvation for them. They see a quick fortune in the

ring. Most of them never make it; but they become punch-drunk and woozy through trying.

A boy who knows real poverty is not afraid to take a beating if he has to in order to earn a few dollars and to try to earn a few more. The spectre of always remaining in the East Side, for example, is much more powerful than the most dynamite-laden fist of a ring foe. Thus you find that the fighters who reach the top are a combination of cruelty and sentimentality. A champion is rough in the ring, for it is his bread-and-butter; once outside the ring he is generally a soft touch for beggars, for hangers-on, and for fair-weather friends. The champion is good to his family, builds a house for his aging mother, and takes care of his brothers and sisters. This is sometimes press agency; often it is the truth. Ring Lardner's classic and acid short story called "Champion," which is a bitter portrait of a thoughtless and cruel boxing champion, has a good deal of truth in it. But the opposite is also true. Men like Jack Dempsey, Joe Louis, Benny Leonard, and other champions, are known for their soft hearts (of the three Leonard is dead)—but only out of the ring. Within the roped area they were merciless. It is their background, their hard lives and their bitter memories that made them so.

And of course there is another reason for this harshness. Boxing itself is a merciless game; it is raw conflict, dramatized and brought into the open where thousands can watch it. Here are two men, with their gloved fists as their only friends and a neutral referee between them. Who is the better man? Punching prowess and cleverness will tell. No man can win because of his father's background or because his mother is a society woman. The "Aryan" supremacy idea means nothing in the ring. All of Hitler's anthropologists could not make Max Schmeling superior to Joe Louis when they met for the second time and the American Negro butchered the Nazi

champion. The Jew who fights the non-Jew in the ring is considered the equal of his foe, unless his opponent manages to lick him. Conversely, the Jew is better than the other guy only if he wins his fight. Thus racialism, bias, and background poisons vanish for the moment. The fight fan has to consider only one thing: Who is the better fighter?

For many years the race angle was important. The Negro was always discriminated against; close decisions always went against him; white champions drew a color line and refused to fight Negroes. When Jack Johnson won the heavyweight crown a hue and cry went up and a search was started for a "white hope," as though the Negro were an alien, a non-American who somehow was not fit to be the champion. Joe Louis proved himself as good an American as the best of us. And when Jim Corbett met Jewish Joe Choynski, there were racial tremors in San Francisco, and Jews and Irishmen nearly started riots in arguing who would win.

Jewish fighters took Irish names. Mushy Callahan and Al McCoy, for example, were Jewish boys. But the Irish had a fighting name and the Jews tried to exploit it. Later, many Irishmen took Jewish names, and returned the compliment. But these were the raw days in boxing, when sheriffs broke up fights and sent the pugilists to jail. Today things are different—and better. Fight fans cheer the Joe Louises and remember the Benny Leonards and admire the Barney Rosses.

It is impossible to write adequately about every Jewish fighter or Jewish champion. Sometimes it is difficult to determine who is and who is not a Jew. Max Baer, for example, wore a Jewish star on his trunks and said he was Jewish. Later it was discovered that he was supposed to have been Jewish on his father's side. But wise boxing writers believe that this too, was strictly from Maxie's fertile imagination. Baer must have thought that the *Mogen David* would win him sup-

porters. He may have had something there. Harry Greb, a wonderful fighter and a very hard character indeed, about whom a fine book was written a while back, was no Jew. But for years the legend had it that he was Jewish and that his real name was Harry Berg (which is Greb, spelled backwards). Greb was great; but was not Jewish, even though the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* lists him as a Jewish fighter.

It is the same with men like Bob Pastor, who fought Louis a number of times. He is part Jewish; so is Pedro Montanez, one-time lightweight contender. But if one goes by names, he is lost, for names fool one very easily. And most sports writers take their information as it comes, casually, accidentally, and indifferently.

Nevertheless, there are some fighters who proclaimed their faith and many of the Jewish stars were among them. Jackie "Kid" Berg, for example, who came from the Whitechapel area in London, wore a *Mogen David* on his trunks and had the Hebrew initials, in the Hebrew alphabet, sewn into the center of the star. The great Benny Leonard always aligned himself with Jewish causes and up to his death worked for the Zionist organization.

Some Jewish fighters, who managed to do well but never were really great, were Maxie Rosenbloom, who held the lightweight title for years and who later went to Hollywood where he became a successful comedian; Battling Levinsky, who held the same title and beat top-notchers for years; Abe Attell, one of the best of the lighter fighters; Sid Terris, Ruby Goldstein, Leach Cross, and Lew Tendler, exciting little lightweights who won headlines for years before they faded out. These men all added to ring history and fought brilliantly at times. Tendler was a near-champion; Terris and Goldstein mere flashes. But they were like rockets—once seen always remembered, even though they plunge quickly into obscurity.

But the really great Jewish fighters

deserve more than mere mention. Here, in a few paragraphs, are stories of the best of them, the fighters who will be talked about as long as boxing retains its fascination and its skill.

Whenever heavyweights are mentioned, talk invariably turns to Daniel Mendoza, the first great Jewish heavyweight. But he fought so long ago that he is more of a legend than an actuality. Mendoza was a personality of another day and most of his fights are hidden behind a veil of the past. But the first real heavyweight of modern importance, who was also probably the greatest of all Jewish heavyweights, was Joe Choynski of San Francisco. Although Joe never held the heavyweight crown, he was acknowledged to be one of the foremost fighters of any era. What made his success even more remarkable was the fact that at his peak Choynski weighed no more than 155 pounds. But for 20 years he met and defeated some of the best of the heavyweights of his day.

Today Choynski is best remembered for his historic fights with Jim Corbett, and their hard, close, rough 27-rounder, which Corbett managed to win, was Corbett's tightest fight. A few years before Jack Johnson won the heavyweight title, he was knocked out by Choynski. And Choynski was outweighed by 42 pounds! Although the list of Jewish boxing champions is long, and there has never been a Jewish heavyweight titleholder, Choynski was easily a champion in deed if not in official rank.

But the greatest name in Jewish sports history is that of Benny Leonard. The outstanding lightweight of his time, and probably of all time, Leonard retired the undefeated champion of the world after eight years as champion. In 210 fights he lost only four times, twice in his first year as a fighter, once on a foul and the last time when he attempted an ill-advised comeback long past his prime. But Leonard goes past statistics, for he was long the idol of boxing fans, particularly

of the East Side thin-faced little Jewish boys who, in their poverty, dreamed of themselves as champions of the world.

Leonard was the first Jew in America to win whole-hearted acclaim from sports fans throughout the land. From 1917 to 1925, when he retired undefeated champion, Benny was one of the most famous Jews in America. By winning such a niche, Leonard aided not only himself but the entire American Jewish community. When Benny was accepted and admired by the American public, the Jews of America felt that they themselves were being accepted and admired. Leonard, therefore, symbolized all Jewry; and he knew it. He acted like a good Jew. He was active in the Zionist organization and always contributed his time, his reputation, and his energies to Jewish causes. When he died, while refereeing a fight in a New York ring, he was deeply mourned by thousands of people outside the prize ring. His death was a front-page story in New York's newspapers. But to the Jews of America Benny Leonard was the brightest star in the Golden Age of the Twenties. He was the boy from the East Side who conquered the world.

Leonard, with all his skill, could not steal all of the thunder of another unusual Jewish fighter who appeared in the late twenties and who is synonymous with ruggedness and fighting heart. Although one of the international jokes in the world of sport is the caliber of the British boxer, there appeared in England in the twenties a Jewish fighter who personifies the whirlwind fighter. His name was Jackie "Kid" Berg. Jackie was a thrill provider, a scrappy, eager foe who always gave the fans a run for their money. He was easy to hit and he took a lot of punishment, but he was willing to take a punch to give one. Fighters like Berg are seldom fully appreciated as "great" because they take too many punches and are beat too often. But they breathe rosin and their whole lives are wrapped around a bell, leather gloves, and a willing opponent.

Berg fought and beat such men as Tony Canzoneri, Billy Petrolle, and most of the other topnotchers of his era. He was tough because he was brought up in a rough school. Born in the Whitechapel area of London, Berg was raised in slums as dirty, as hard, and as unscrupulous as any in the world. He began fighting in 1926 and 15 years later was still at it. His face became scarred and his features indefinite. But his name was known all over the world. He is the symbol of the eternal fighter and in his time he gave fans more thrills than hundreds of champions and thousands of would-be titleholders. He was a fighter's fighter.

The most recent famous Jewish boxing star was Barney Ross, the spindly-legged kid from Chicago, who was both a boxing champ and a hero of World War II. Barney was more than a war hero because he lived up to the conception people have of a real champion. And for many years Barney Ross was one of the fight-ingingest cleverest boxing men in the ring.

Long before he fought at Guadalcanal, Barney showed his courage in the ring. Especially in his losing fight—after ten years in the ring—to Henry Armstrong in 1938. His whole career is full of pain—and courage.

Reared in Chicago, where his father had a grocery store, Barney first faced tragedy when holdup men killed his father, who left behind a wife, four sons, and a daughter. From that moment onward, it was Barney's job to support the large family. He worked hard as a young boy, but as soon as he discovered that he had talent for boxing, he turned professional. He fought around Chicago and won many good fights, although he was still unknown around New York. But in 1933 he beat Tony Canzoneri for the lightweight title, and then, in a return match, licked Tony again. Ross held the crown until he felt ready for the next division, the welterweight class.

The welterweight titleholder, Jimmy McLarnin, was an excellent fighter who

had an exceptional knock-out record, with special emphasis on his rapid victories over Jewish fighters. There was nothing deliberate about it, but Jimmy happened to own knock-outs over most of the top Jewish fighters of his day. In the first fight between these two good little men, Ross won a split decision in a hard close fight. Barney was the first man to win both the lightweight and welterweight crowns. But Barney gave McLarnin a return bout. This time the Irishman won in a bitterly debated decision. Of the 28 boxing writers who reported the fight, 22 thought the verdict a sour one. In 1935, however, the men fought again and this time Barney won a unanimous vote. When the bout was over Ross' nose was split, but he was again the champion. He held the crown throughout many thrilling tense fights—until he dropped it in 1938 to the great Armstrong.

Then the war came and Barney, old as

fighters go, was not too old to join the Marines. He fought well enough to win many awards and honors—as well as shrapnel and malaria. He came home, gray, weak, old before his time. He also had to fight the drug habit which was one of the offshoots of the war. But he eventually won out and now he is back in the ring game—as referee.

These Jewish champions had their share of breaks both good and bad. They had to beat their environments, their opponents, their bad breaks, and a variety of little things which one seldom thinks about. A Benny Leonard might have vanished into oblivion if he had been badly beaten during his first year of boxing. Luck was with him, and with these other champions. And because tragedy stalks and fate puts in a harsh finger at any moment, boxing is a sport with its own special thrills, its private passions, and its endless fascinations.

REALISTS

By RAYMOND KRESENSKY

The mind that feeds on bitterness,
The lips that form the hard reply,
Know well the hand's deep-felt duress
And the slow feet that hurry by.

In their despair they know no veil
Of word or thought to hide this grief.
To smile through pain does not avail
The mind of truth, nor give relief.

They see the dark. They feel its ways.
They know—and that is what they find
For strength and courage, while they raise
Their hands and cry, We are not blind.

YANKEE BOOKS FOR THE FOURTH REICH

By ALFRED WERNER

♦♦ THE AFTERMATH of the Nazi regime is an appalling intellectual vacuum," wrote Klaus Mann, after having returned from a recent German trip. "Never before in human history has a nation in so short a time been so thoroughly depleted of its spiritual and moral substance." He looked in vain for new literary names, for any new literary movement, for any signs or suggestions of a forthcoming literary renaissance. There were the classics of the 18th and 19th centuries; a few writers who, like Ricarda Huch, Karl Jaspers, and Erich Kaestner, had refused to collaborate with the Nazis, and an endless number of authors who had jumped upon the Nazi band-wagon, largely for the sake of personal security. Of course, he admitted, "general living conditions in the defeated Reich are not propitious for intellectual activities. But technical difficulties, however disturbing and discouraging they may be, are in themselves not sufficient to account for the present sterility of the German mind. After World War I, Germany was as hated and isolated and almost as impoverished as it is today; yet the chaotic, inflation-ridden Reich of the twenties experienced a cultural boom of truly impressive proportions."

But under the Kaiser intellectual life was never as muffled and *verboten* as under Hitler, although William II did his utmost to encourage "patriotic" literature at the expense of progressive, humanist, and internationalist writing. Nor was foreign literature ever banned, though, during the war, some chauvinistic hotspurs kept Shaw, Wilde, and Chekhov off the stage. In any event, right after the last shot was fired in November, 1918, the

Kaiser's people, tired of the false patriotic stuff they had been expected to read with enthusiasm, rushed to the bookshops and newsdealers to purchase foreign books, magazines, and papers. Some Germans simply wished to inform themselves directly about the Western nations that, despite everything they had heard about their meanness and inefficiency, had managed to defeat them; others, however, were actually tired of the Bloems and Herzogs and Von Omptedas, especially the powerful Leftist groups and the Jewish intellectuals, and they were ready to accept new ideas whether they came from England, America, France, or even Russia. It is significant that among the best-sellers within defeated Germany was a French novel, *Under Fire*, by the vehemently pacifist Henri Barbusse!

Today, therefore, it is imperative that the Allied powers assist the Germans who, apparently, are unable to rid themselves of the heritage of Nazism, in reorienting and revitalizing their culture. As far as America is concerned, it is easy to think of scores of American books that could help the Germans readjust themselves to the needs of a civilized mankind. This is what the Institute on Re-Education of the Axis countries (which is a division of the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction) had in mind when it presented to General Eisenhower a detailed report, with a recommendation that it be adopted as the official "re-education plan" for the Axis countries. The report recommended, among other things, the formation of a Board of Educational Advisers, with a number of tasks, including the compilation of recommended reading lists for the

Germans. The Germans, the aforementioned Committee asserted, should unlearn the false beliefs, spread by the Third Reich, and apprehend the following lessons:

To respect the dignity of individual human beings of whatever race, color or creed;

Learn new respect for truth as a basis for knowledge and human conduct;

A new respect for the fundamental moral and spiritual values of human society;

Learn that the individuals who comprise the state share responsibility for the acts of the state;

That the present conditions in Germany are the hard and bitter consequences of the German doctrine of the superrace.

In the past two years many efforts have been made by American writers, publishers, and literary agents to acquaint the Germans with the literature produced here in the past fifteen years. It seems, however, that this is not sufficient. Regrettably, it is not commonly understood how little Germany knows, or has ever known, of the vast literature produced in the United States from the days of George Washington to the era of the New Deal. To acquaint the Germans with the spirit of America, with the advantages of American democracy, with the rich literary talent that has sprung up in the vast area between Boston and Seattle, it is not enough to translate a handful of current best-sellers into German.

In order to make this phase of our re-education plan work, American writers, publishers, and literary agents should know to what extent American literature was known and appreciated in pre-Hitler Germany. There was at least one American author who was close to the heart of nearly every German boy (and quite a few girls, too): James Fenimore Cooper; cheap sensational adaptations of his romantic stories about frontier life and the Red Indians were bought by every child, to the alarm of parents and educators. As a matter of fact, before the early 1920's, when the Germans discovered America's "muck-rakers," American

books in Germany were read mostly by children and adolescents. Their favorites were Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, Wallace's *Ben Hur*, Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, and Bret Harte's romantic California stories.

A limited number of German intellectuals around 1900 knew of the great political, social, and economic experiments made in the Western Hemisphere—but even highly educated Germans, including college graduates, were frequently more familiar with the story of the legendary Numa Pompilius than with that of the real Abraham Lincoln. Only three American writers of high literary merit were somewhat popular in Germany before 1920. One of them was Poe, whose macabre and mysterious tales appealed to the Germans, for they considered him an American species of E. T. A. Hoffmann. Whitman was discovered and hailed as the "poet of democracy" around 1900 by Johannes Schlaf, one of the fathers of German naturalism, and the "good grey poet" had a strong following among the Socialist and proletarian writers. (Subsequently he was to influence the Expressionists as well as Thomas Mann whom he taught to see the romance and beauty of democracy). Ralph Waldo Emerson, himself an admirer of Goethe and a personal friend of that Germanophile, Carlyle, as well as of the German historian of art, Hermann Grimm, through his transcendentalist philosophy naturally appealed to the nation of Kant and Schelling. Incidentally, there was that amiable but certainly second-rate "philosopher," Prentice Mulford, now almost forgotten in this country, whose mediocre truisms and wisecracks were cited as typical of the practical realistic Yankee mind and who enjoyed great popularity in Germany.

After the first World War a tremendous number of American books suddenly entered the Reich, either in the original language, or in excellent trans-

lations. It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that the geographically remotest of the three Western Powers exerted the greatest influence upon German thinking in the era of the Weimar Republic. There were several reasons for that phenomenon. In the first place, the attitude of the German nation towards the Americans was much friendlier than towards the English or the French. While it was known that the Americans, under General Pershing, had turned the tide of battle to the Allies at Belleau Wood and Chateau Thierry, the Yankees were also identified with Hoover's social workers who had brought food to Germany's starving children. Secondly, many Germans emigrated to the U.S.A. after 1918, and the bonds between the German-Americans and Germany were very strong. Thirdly, some of the new Germans believed that there might be a greater kinship between American and German political ideals than between the spirit of Weimar and that of the arrogant Troisième République or that of Tory-dominated England.

Most contemporary American authors were translated into German. The leftist Malik Publishing House in Berlin distributed Upton Sinclair's novels of which *The Jungle*, *Jimmie Higgins* and *Boston* became best-sellers, largely through the Arbeiter-Buechereien, lending-libraries established by the numerous workmen's clubs and trade unions. Kurt Wolff at Munich—who now publishes the Pantheon Books in New York—sold Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt*, which became a hit in Germany, Ernst Rowohlt of Berlin published Hemingway, Hergesheimer, and several works by Sinclair Lewis; S. Fischer, also of Berlin (whose firm, headed by his son-in-law, Gottfried Bermann, is now located in New York and Stockholm) published John Dos Passos and Eugene O'Neill; Paul Zsolnay of Vienna, Theodore Dreiser; and the two Viennese publishers, Rikola, and Speidel, Martha Ostenso. Universitas, Berlin, sold

Jack London; the distinguished Insel-Verlag, Leipzig, handled James Branch Cabell and Sherwood Anderson; while Thornton Wilder was distributed by E. P. Tal. Even less well-known authors, like Ludwig Lewisohn or Agnes Smedley, were available in German, as were the autobiographies of such outstanding American Negroes as Booker T. Washington and James Weldon Johnson. On the stage, Max Reinhardt experimented with a fair amount of success with O'Neill's sophisticated dramas. But the picture would not be complete, if we failed to mention the huge flood of trash that crossed the ocean into Germany, including the Tarzan nonsense, mystery stories, thrillers, and comedies of the *Abie's Irish Rose* type.

As for non-fiction, the historical works by Prescott, Motley, and Ticknor were available in German, as well as works by the critic, Mencken. For curiosity's sake it might be mentioned that, for quite a while Judge Lindsay's book on *Companionate Marriage* was the topic of the day in the salons of Berlin or Munich.

Many Germans knew English, which replaced the French of a former generation in most secondary schools. If the import of printed material from the United States was comparatively small, this phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the Anglo-American authors were printed in the vernacular at Leipzig, the center of German book publishing. Founded in 1837 and merged with Hamburg's "Albatros Modern Continental Library of English and American Fiction" in 1934, the firm of Bernhard Tauchnitz published more than 5,300 different books in English, with a total sale exceeding 40 million volumes. Cheaply priced—a paper-bound Tauchnitz volume cost the equivalent of 60 cents—these books reached large masses of people all over Europe, but they were "not to be introduced into the British Empire or the U.S.A." on account of agreements between the German firm and Anglo-British

book publishers. The Tauchnitz list contained more than 1,300 American titles, old authors like Emerson and Mark Twain as well as modern ones, like Sinclair Lewis, Edna Ferber, and Pearl S. Buck (and also light reading, like *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* which sold extremely well).

An idea of the popularity of American authors in Germany can be got from a poll, conducted among circulating libraries in 1930 by the magazine *Uhu*, an Ullstein publication: an American, Jack London, headed all favorite authors; sandwiched between Jacob Wassermann, who held seventh place, and John Galsworthy, who was ninth, came Upton Sinclair. This result clearly demonstrates that the Germans of yesterday were anything but allergic to foreign literature.

This healthy state of affairs quickly changed when the Nazis came to power. Except for the war years between 1914 and 1918, intellectual isolationism was never popular with the Germans. True, there had been some bearded high-school teachers whose Teutonic dramas had been refused by the theaters and who, in obscure chauvinist papers, thundered against the "*Ueberfremdung*" (a peculiar word, meaning the threatening preponderance of foreign thought) of the literary market in Germany. But until 1933, they were not taken seriously. In that year, however, a frustrated writer who had been turned down by Rudolf Mosse when he tried to get an editorial job on the radical democratic *Berliner Tageblatt* and whose wretched plays and novels remained buried in his desk, became Germany's intellectual leader. In the month of May, books by writers not favored by Dr. Goebbels were publicly burned under his supervision. In the years to come, a large number of American authors were banned in Germany. They included Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair, Helen Keller, Sholem Asch, Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, Pearl S. Buck, Louis Bromfield, Waldo Frank, Edna St. Vincent Mil-

lay, Clifford Odets, Maxwell Anderson, Albert Maltz, John Gunther, Elmer Rice, Michael Gold, Sherwood Anderson, Jack London, Lillian Hellmann, Kaye Boyle, Edna Ferber, Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, Archibald McLeish, Erskine Caldwell, Richard Wright, Carl Sandburg, and Stephen Vincent Benet. Some of these authors were forbidden because they were Jews or Marxists or both, others apparently for no other reason than that they were Americans. A scientist like the late Franz Boas was ostracised because his theories were opposed to the nonsense of Nazi racial "science," and the prohibition of books by William L. Shirer, Dorothy Thompson, Howard K. Smith, Vincent Sheean, and other foreign correspondents is self-explanatory.

The new masters of Germany did not want their people to read *any* foreign literature, even if it was quite unpolitical. Rather typical of that trend toward intellectual self-sufficiency is an advertisement, published on November 10, 1933, in the erstwhile distinguished *Boersenblatt fuer den deutschen Buchhandel* (the equivalent of our *Publishers' Weekly*) which, in translation, reads as follows:

WHY MUST IT BE ENGLISH OR AMERICAN? We also have exciting books. No translations of English and American night-life literature, no sultry sexual perversities and novels of adultery, no mad, nerve-exciting thrillers. No, we have what the people want, good German home-cooking.

According to the annual reports, published by the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the value of books imported into Germany sank catastrophically from 1930 to 1939. So did the number of translations of American books into German. The Reich put the clock back—and the Nazi leaders got what they wanted. Shortly before the outbreak of the war Erika Mann reported, in her *School for Barbarians*, that while the older generation in Germany still retained some knowledge of the world outside, the

young generation knew "nothing of another world, with another rule." Those who wish to learn how Germany got rid of the last vestiges of Western civilization, should read the reports by such foreign correspondents as Howard K. Smith, Arvid Fredborg, or Gunnar Pihl who lived in Germany after 1939. Or they can gather from the conversations American interviewers had with German prisoners of war and, more recently, with German civilians how little the men and women of the Third Reich know what is really going on outside the rapidly shrinking Festung Europa.

We are slowly learning of the existence of anti-Fascist Germans. This writer has met numerous highly educated, well-meaning and broad-minded Germans in—a Concentration Camp. Those anti-Nazis who survived the war, naturally grasp any book not infected by Nazi propaganda, whether it is of Anglo-American, French, or Russian origin. The Germans above forty years of age again like to read books by foreign authors whose works they remember having enjoyed before 1933. Among the young Germans, there are two classes: one which refuses to be tainted by any sort of foreign literature, while the other, rabid Nazis though they may be, ask for it in order to learn why the Fuehrer was defeated and what should be done to carry out his political testament at some future date.

Hence, the task of Germany's educators, both native and foreign, who will try to use literature as a means of re-forming the Germans into a civilized people, is difficult enough. If we make use of De Quincey's distinction between "literature of knowledge" and "literature of power"—the one teaches only, the other moves the spirit of man—we might say that the former will be easier to sell. The Germans, though filled with suspicion and hatred, are expected to seek information in the realm of politics, science, economy, and so forth. Anticipating that trend, the office of war information turned out Ger-

man translations of first-rate American source-books, in addition to translations of belles-lettres, while a group of exiled German scholars prepared a set of anti-Nazi textbooks that replace the volumes used in Nazi Germany's schools. Reluctantly and slowly, the Germans will learn the truth, and admit that they had been deceived for many years.

What about the "literature of power?" Fiction, in particular novels, reach more people than purely informative volumes. It might be remembered that the dangerous slogan of Germany's lack of Lebensraum was popularized, if not invented, by a novel by Hans Grimm. Now many important books by American authors that were published in German translations in Switzerland and Sweden during the war, are available immediately to the Germans. The list of fiction-writers includes Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, John Marquard, William Saroyan, and Thomas Wolfe, whereas that of non-fiction writers includes some far-seeing statesmen, like Wendell Willkie or Sumner Welles.

In later years, perhaps, when Germany will be restored to the family of civilized nations, after having atoned for the atrocities she committed, the publishing-houses at Berlin, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and Munich may resume their activities and acquaint the German public with the large number of fine American writers that were discovered since 1933 (the only successful American books in Hitler Germany were two non-political, historical novels, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind*, and Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse!*) But there are also many old authors that, hitherto, have been little known or practically unknown in Germany. The list includes Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, David Thoreau, James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edward Everett Hale, Henry Adams, and Ambrose Bierce, to mention only a few; good selections from the writings of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Henry

A. Wallace will acquaint the Germans, reared under a dictatorship, with the advantages and the practicability of a democratic system and philosophy of life.

It may be wise, for the first few years, to refrain from publishing muck-raking novels, works of severe American self-criticism, such as a democratic country can afford to publish. Unfortunately, the impressions we Central Europeans received from American authors were not the best. After having perused their works, we were bound to think of America as an unfortunate country, inhabited chiefly by gangsters, merciless capitalists, and philistines, that all American clergymen were altogether hypocrites and that no artist could live in America without losing his talent and his soul. The German liberal who read *The Jungle*, did not necessarily know that the working conditions in the Chicago meat industry had improved during the thirty years since the writing of Sinclair's propaganda novel. He was shocked at American injustice on reading *Boston*, not knowing that the death sentence of Sacco and Vanzetti had been denounced by most Americans, and that, in another case, Tom Mooney had been saved through public opinion.

"We knew nothing of America!" Martin Gumpert, an immigrant German-Jewish physician and writer confessed in his autobiographical book, *First Papers*. He had thought of it as a "desert of technology, haunted by money-grabbing, lacking all creative impulse," all in all a "chaotic, breath-taking, colonial hodge-podge, an imposing but undirected frenzy of achievement, leaving eccentricity as the sole avenue of escape for the emotions." And here is what a Polish-Jewish physicist thought about the New World on his way to America: "I know that it is a materialistic, standardized country where talk centers around sports, clothes, and the trivialities which lie on the surface of life. A country in which a European feels lonely and lost." (Leopold Infeld, *Quest, The Evolution of a Scientist*).

If two truly liberal and highly educated Europeans thought as described above, what can one expect to hear from a German who, for more than a decade, had no other channel of information than the Nazi radio, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* and the "*gleichgeschaltete*" (co-ordinated) literature?

It will take many, many years before the voice of Goethe rather than that of Goebbels will be heard in Germany. It is tragic to think of the tremendous decline of German civilization, which becomes clear when we mention the two names simultaneously. For a century before the ill-shaped, evil-minded frustrated little Ph.D. turned Germany's clock back to the Middle Ages, nay, to the Stone Age, the wizard of Weimar proclaimed, in his conversations with his disciple, Eckermann, that the era of narrow-minded nationalism was over:

"I am more and more convinced that poetry"—this term may stand for literature in general—"is the universal possession of mankind revealing itself everywhere and at all times, in hundreds and hundreds of men. One makes it a little better than another, and swims on the surface a little longer than another—that is all. Herr von Matthison [the poet Friedrich von Matthison, a contemporary of Goethe] must not think he is the man, nor must I think I am the man, but each must say to himself that the gift of poetry is by no means so very rare, and that nobody need think very much of himself because he has written a good poem."

"But really," the octogenarian master continued, "we Germans are very likely to fall too easily into this pedantic conceit when we do not look beyond the narrow circle which surrounds us. I therefore like to look about me in foreign nations and advise everyone to do the same. *National literature is now rather an unmeaning term; the epoch of world literature is at hand, and everyone must strive to hasten its approach.*"

No Room

By JACK GARLINGTON

ONE DAY she went for the mail before he did.

Dressed in a cloth coat with a worn fur collar she stood by the table in the downstairs hall, riffling through the letters with small, quick hands. Stephen had noticed her name before: Miss Lena Aarons. It was written in an old irregular handwriting—possibly her mother's—and postmarked in a Louisiana village. Twice the return address was that of a New York book publisher.

She picked up her letters, stuck them in her purse, and walked to the door. She paused and looked outside. Then, as she opened the door and slipped out, her shoulders stiffened, as in reassurance that beyond the steps lay—after all—only the world.

"There's another hack writer in the house," he told Hal and Marion that night. They lived on the first floor, and it was through them that he had found the cubicle, 'like a bathroom without plumbing' (as Hal had said) on the third floor rear. "Tiny, dark girl," he continued. "Jewish, I think."

"Yeah, I've seen her," said Hal, who was Jewish too. "Homely as all sin; wears dark glasses. We've met on the street a time or so, and almost spoken." He grinned at Marion, who was jealous.

"Why the glasses?" asked Marion. "This ratty street's dark enough as it is."

Hal shrugged his shoulders. "Maybe to hide her face. Can't say I blame her."

Several times, during the next week, Stephen came near to speaking. Approaching her on the street he would smile; then, unable to see her eyes, and wondering

whether her lips had flickered, he would look away and walk past.

Then one rainy day they met in the vestibule.

"Here, let me try," he said. He had come up the steps to find her struggling with the key. "This door always gets cranky in wet weather."

"I know," she said. "My hands just aren't strong enough." She handed him her keys with an awkward gesture, and a high, nervous giggle escaped her.

"It's not so much strength as know-how," said Stephen. He slipped the key along to find the tell-tale spot where it would begin to yield. "My hands aren't strong either—pounding a typewriter isn't really good exercise."

"Are you a writer?" she asked.

"No, but I collect beautiful rejection slips."

"Rejection slips aren't a solid diet," she said gravely.

"I haven't been writing long. Have you? I notice your letters —"

"Oh no. I don't write; I work for a book publisher. Or rather I *do* write, but not for sale."

She brought some poems down one night, and while Stephen read them she sat quietly, staring about the dim room.

"You know," she said when she saw that he had finished, "your room's just like mine, except that there's more space."

"Good Lord," Stephen sighed, "I don't see how there could be any less."

"They're the same size, I suppose, but I've got so many things in mine. I've got a trunk that fills all one corner."

"Well," said Stephen, "I haven't bought anything I didn't have to have. I'm going to move as soon as I can."

"Have you found a place?"

"No, but I'm going to start looking. I've got to get out before summer."

"Why summer?" she asked.

"A friend of mine is coming up—to go to school at Columbia. I can't have guests here. There's no place to sit except the cot."

"That's the way it is in my room," she said. "I want another place too."

While they were talking Stephen first noticed her eyes. They were small and blue, he was surprised to find, and peered out of enormous black hollows. She smiled or giggled often, evidently more embarrassed than amused; but the eyes themselves never changed expression. They looked out of their dark depressions like children on a dim street corner—hurt, watchful, omniscient, and impotent.

The next few weeks they met almost every night. Her room was on the fourth floor, and each evening when she came home from work she would rap on his door.

Often they ate together at the Automat, or at a cheap restaurant on Eighth Avenue, where they sat at the counter. She would order griddle cakes—"they're so filling," she said—or maybe hamburger steak, since with it you got three slices of bread and a pat of butter. And as they ate she talked, loudly and vivaciously, bouncing up and down on the stool. When she grew excited her high voice pierced the dark sludge of conversation that hung over the black figures at the front, hunched over their food.

It took little to excite her. Once, as they rode a crowded local to the Museum of Natural History she described a toddler who had clung to her skirts one afternoon as she walked home from work. "He was the *cutest* baby!" she cried. "I just wanted to scoop him up and eat him." She laughed loudly and reached to the

floor in a scooping motion. Nearby strap-hangers stared. Stephen peered intently at the advertisements.

When they walked along the street she darted from one window to another, standing entranced before each display. She grew ecstatic over gadgets: filing boxes with replaceable tabs, or rubber-covered coat-hangers, with painted clothespins to hold the laundry.

"Good Lord, Lena," said Stephen one afternoon, "I don't see why you want all these doodads cluttering up your room."

"It just gives me a good feeling," she said. "We didn't have anything when I was little. Mother used to beat eggs with a fork, and cut bread with a butcher knife. And now I have my own little room, with a wash-basin, and hangers for the laundry—I feel so *luxurious*."

To add to her luxury, she wanted a bookcase, and one morning Stephen walked with her to a store on 14th Street.

"This is a real case, kiddo," said the saleswoman, "a real piece o' material. None o' these false backs—real wood." She tapped on the unpainted pine to show that it wasn't hollow.

Lena ordered it up, and throughout the following week she worked each night, "giving it the finishing touches." One night she scrubbed it with soap and water. The next she sandpapered it. The next she brought home a 25c can of shellac, and painted the top two shelves. Then on Friday Stephen went in to find it in place, loaded with books and magazines, and capped by a sprig of ivy in an orange pot—a sprig of ivy that never seemed to grow.

"You just can't *imagine* how convenient it is!" she cried, her tiny eyes shining out of their dark hollows. "If I want a book I just reach for it. It's the most beautiful bookcase I ever saw!" She stared at the box.

It was strange, thought Stephen later, that out of all the words and gestures that flow between two people like a river

of communication, he should remember most clearly one small movement. It was a mere ripple on the surface; but only in it did he glimpse the current in the depths.

One night he sat in Lena's room, smoking a cigarette, while he listened to her chatter. They had just come in from the park, and as she talked her tiny hands fluttered over the rough cloth of the jacket he had thrown between them.

Then he asked for something—an ash-tray, or a newspaper—and as she passed it her fingers brushed his in a brief, negligible gesture. Negligible—but unnecessary, for he had seen her hand dip to the contact.

And as the days passed by and the events multiplied he recalled a boyhood memory. He had been walking through a forest, one grey afternoon, when he detected the song of a bird above the rustle of the trees. His ear suddenly attuned to the sound, he heard another in the distance, and then another, until the brush of the wind through the trees was drowned in the melancholy cry of birds.

Lena would examine his ring, or detect a thread on his temple which she plucked away while resting her hand on his cheek. And whenever they talked he could see her tiny, homely face out of the corner of his eye, and he guessed that she watched his lips.

"The funniest thing happened today," she said once, laughing too loudly. "There's a little old man who works in our office—single—so timid that if you look at him he might burst into tears. I talk with him every now and then; you know how it is . . . pass the time of day, and the like. Well, today he slipped up real quietly, you know—just as if he were on tiptoe—and asked where I ate lunch. I told him the cafeteria. 'I do too,' he said. 'Maybe we could eat together sometime.' It was so funny, the way he slipped up—you'd think we were a couple of spies."

Stephen smoked without comment.

"Come on in," he said one afternoon toward the end of March. She had stopped

by on the way to her room, and still wore her coat.

Stephen closed the door behind her. "I finally got a room," he said.

"Oh." She slipped past the cot and walked to the window. "That's good," she said, after a moment. "Where is it? How'd you find it?"

"Through Hal and Marion. They moved last week, you know; and kept an eye out for me. It's in the same house."

"I wish I could find another room," she said.

"I'll be here another two weeks," said Stephen. "It's not vacated yet."

It was late afternoon. The sun slanted down the sooty bricks of the house opposite, and a cat crept along the unpainted fence. Lena gazed down into the yard.

"I'm glad you got a room," she said.

The next day Stephen began getting his few things together. He went through the chest-of-drawers, throwing away old letters and rent receipts. He cleaned out the pile of magazines on his foot-locker, and packed away the clothes he wouldn't need again until winter. In the afternoon Lena came down to sit while he worked.

"Who's this?" she asked, picking a photograph out of a pile on the table.

"That's Cora. You know; I've told you about her."

"Oh, Cora. You just said a 'friend.' " She laid the photograph back on the table. "She's pretty."

The next few days passed without their meeting. Sometimes Stephen left early, and once Hal and Marion invited him over to their new apartment. That night he knocked on Lena's door when he came in, but there was no answer.

The following afternoon he met her as he walked down the steps.

"Hello," he said, pausing at the base. "Haven't seen you for a while."

"I know," she said. "I've been going out after supper each night, looking for a room. Do you know of any?"

"No, I don't, Lena."

"What are you doing now?"

"Why—nothing, I guess."

"I wish you'd come help me look. We could eat first."

"All right. If you want me to."

During the meal he noticed that her conversation had settled on rooms. She told of how many streets she had scouted the day before, of how the girls at the office had given her various addresses, and of the promises she had received. She described the façades of the houses she had gone into, and imitated the superintendents.

Once or twice Stephen tried to change the subject. There was a minute of silence, and then the conversation stumbled along awkwardly until she had worked it back around to the first topic.

After the meal they walked along some of the nearby streets. Stephen pointed out several vacancy signs, but in each case Lena found an objection.

"Oh, look at those curtains in the second storey windows," she would say; "I couldn't live in a place like that. There are probably cockroaches and mice . . ."

At the end of one street stood a house, like a well-dressed woman in a subway, gilt and painted to stand out over its neighbors.

"But the location, Stephen!" she said. "It's so dark down here—and near the docks. I'd be scared, coming in at night."

"Lena," he said sharply, "you can't have everything, for what you can afford . . ."

He glanced at her face, and cut the sentence short.

From then, every time they met she immediately gave him the latest details of her search. She could talk of nothing else, and he began to avoid her, going to the library when she got off work, or walking down streets where he knew she never passed.

At times he grew remorseful and waited till she got home. Then they would walk together to the park and sit under the trees. Sooner or later she would glance at the office buildings that cupped in the

small green oasis. Her eye would travel from base to tower of the grey, massive, opulent pile.

"I want a room," she would murmur.

"All I want is a room."

He was to move on Thursday.

Tuesday it turned cold, and winter delivered its last mementoes in an icy wind. It scudded down the sodden streets; it slammed shutters to and fro, and rolled garbage cans against lamp posts in unending clamor.

But by Wednesday the storm had died and there stayed but the dismal, pewter-colored clouds and the soggy quiet that seeped into the houses like fog.

Steve and Lena ate at the Automat. Afterwards they walked to the park and sat under the maples, watching the pedestrians as they strode along the deserted paths in search of their homes.

Stephen could think of nothing to say, and Lena seemed preoccupied. Once her face brightened as a fragile old lady picked her way across the street, but she said nothing, and soon grew serious again. After a while they stood up and left the park along the street that led toward home.

They had walked more than half the distance when Lena took hold of his arm.

"Look, Stephen," she said, pointing to a sign, "a vacancy."

"Want to go in?"

He saw her hesitate. It was a square, trim house, with painted bricks and small metal signs in the first floor windows. It stood cold and indifferent against her timid gaze.

"Let's do," she said after a moment.

An old man in shirt sleeves answered the doorbell, and when Lena explained what she wanted he invited them in. "My wife handles all that," he said. "I'll go call her."

The living room was large, and warmed by an open fire. A great divan and two deep easy chairs ringed in the fireplace. On the end-tables lamps sent down a golden, dusky glow.

There were two other occupants of the room, a boy and a girl. Sitting arm in arm on the couch, they looked up pleasantly as Stephen and Lena entered, and invited them to the fire. Without moving they exchanged a few greetings, and then turned their eyes back to the burning logs. The only movement in the room was the flicker of flames, and the undulation of the boy's fingertips, softly stroking the girl's hand.

Soon voices approached from the back of the house, and a smiling, good-natured woman entered.

"Is that sign still up?" she said, wiping her hands on her apron. "Daddy, I should have told you to take it down this afternoon. Here I've made these people wait."

She turned to Lena and gazed at her small, ugly face.

"I'm sorry, dear. The room's already been taken."

"Oh," said Lena. "It's already been taken."

"Yes," said the woman, "there's no room—"

Stephen followed Lena out into the black streets.

"I guess I have to go home," said Lena.

Yes, thought Stephen, you have to go home. Go home to the tiny cubicle with the box-like bookcase and the rubber-covered coat-hangers and the trunk that fills all one corner of the room. Go home to the tiny ivy plant that never seems to grow.

As they turned the corner, arrows of ice stung at their faces. Abruptly he reached for her hand. He wanted to cup her in it, to shelter her from the darkness and the silver dispassionate sleet. Then, before his fingers touched hers, he dropped his hand and walked on. Sympathy was no solution.

Stephen glanced to the side, and by the murky light of a street-lamp caught a glimpse of her face.

She was crying. She was crying, he saw, and when she cried she was even uglier.



Morning Prayer

A. EISENBERG

Extermination Laboratory

EXPERIMENT "E"

By PHILIP L. SEMAN

LEON SZALET tells us in the foreword to his book * that long before he became acquainted with a German concentration camp he had heard much about the horrors of these torture chambers, punishment cells, whippings, and starvation rations. But just how the mechanism of a concentration camp functioned, how the prisoner's day was spent, how he worked, what he ate, what and how he suffered—these things were known only to those who had once been cogs in such a mechanism. It was long before he felt strong enough to describe what he had seen and experienced. It is his daughter's untiring energy and resourcefulness (she accomplished his rescue) that made his remarkable book possible.

In August, 1939, he tells us—as all of us in America from reports in the daily press know—the shadow of war lay over Berlin. Angry crowds jammed the sidewalks discussing the latest "Polish atrocities." The majority of the Polish residents of Berlin had left the city. Toward the end of August he went to the Polish Consulate General for guidance and counsel. Very little constructive advice could or would he give.

Somehow they got to England by airplane, and now the difficulty began. "Where is your English visa?" the control official asked. He explained that he was a Polish citizen. He was taken to the detention room. The next morning he was sent back to Berlin as a prisoner. "I was a non-Aryan. I was not only a Pole—I was

a Jew." He had crossed the German border without a visa, and that was a violation of the frontier. He was asked by the officer, "Do you know what that means today? And you're a Pole besides." He worried, for from all indications he thought they took him for a spy.

He was taken to Alien Police, then to prison, many feet underground, among sixty or more assorted criminals, thieves, blackmailers, homosexuals, and, as he says, some famous figures of the Berlin underworld. A day or two later the "trial" began with the reading of the charge: "Unauthorized Crossing of German Territory." After considerable argument he only by a hair's breadth escaped being carried off to one of Berlin's Gestapo dungeons.

This freedom was only of short duration, for a few weeks later the door bell rang, a policeman entered, asking, "Are you a Polish Jew, Szalet." He answered yes, and shortly he found himself in the police station where he and his countrymen were pushed into a room crammed with people. Men of all ages stood around the wall. Szalet tells how, with Satanic glee, the announcer over the radio described how "Polish sub-men in Bromberg had murdered German 'Volksgenossen' and mutilated their bodies" and prophesied a terrible revenge.

Goebbels had thought of a brilliant stunt to impress the people of Berlin. "We were to pose as the alleged Bromberg murderers," Szalet tells us. "Vengeance! Blood! Vengeance! Blood!" with self-hypnotizing regularity the crowd shouted in chorus. He tells us that there were none who did not get heavy blows. Blood

* *Experiment "E"* a report from an extermination laboratory, by Leon Szalet. Didier, Publisher. 284 pages. \$3.50.

trickled down many faces. It was like rounding up game. At the sight of blood the crowd went crazy with joy. They were on their way—to where they did not know. In the coach a pious old man with white hair and beard held a small Bible in his trembling hand. A Gestapo man snatched it from him and gave the old man a shove that made him collapse on the bench. Then, with practiced fingers, he pulled out the pages, tore them into shreds and with the words "This is your last anointment, Jew," sprinkled the pieces over the aged head. All the life had drained out of the old man's face. With closed eyes and blue lips he sat where he had fallen, his hair and beard strewn with words from the Holy Scriptures.

Szalet tells us that when they were herded out of the train, the old man did not stir. He was dead. This was the first tragedy. Others that followed were more and more horrible.

* * *

Experiment "E," A Report From An Extermination Laboratory, is the story of Leon Szalet's experience in the Nazi concentration camp of Sachsenhausen where Nazis perfected the techniques in extermination later applied to unfortunates from all over Europe in camps such as Dachau, Buchenwald, and others. It was used also as the training ground for the personnel recruited from the depravity of German prisons. Here is described in a vivid manner the formula for turning men into beasts.

Szalet tells the story of the entire faculty of the University and other academic institutions of Cracow that were brought to Sachsenhausen. He tells that even the dismemberment of Poland had not affected him so powerfully as this event, for Polish history had taught him that 122 years of alien rule had been unable to break Poland's resistance only because the Polish intelligentsia had understood how to keep her culture alive. To all Polish Cracow was more than a uni-

versity city which numbered the greatest Polish scholars among its teaching staff. Cracow had always been a symbol of Poland's greatness and creative spirit. It was the city where Casimir The Great had founded the first Polish university at a time when there was only one other university in Central Europe—Prague.

Until the Sixteenth Century Cracow was the capital of the powerful Kingdom of Poland. It was the City of Copernicus.

Two of the professors, Szalet tells us, were brought to his block. These two—Leon Sternbach and Joachim Metellman—were separated from their colleagues and sent to this block because they were Jews. The other professors were assigned to a separate barracks in the isolation district. When the block fuehrer learned that the professor's distinguished works had won him honors from Pope Pius XI, since he was himself a Catholic he was concerned and gave them every possible consideration. The professor was very old and sickly. The block fuehrer described the old man's plight to a Catholic friend, the room senior of another block who had formerly been a doctor and was now practicing his profession in the "sick ward." This room senior saw to it that the professor received treatment, often coming himself to the old man. Although professor Sternbach never complained, we are told, that his fellow prisoners felt he was marked for death. Not only was his body at the end of its strength, but his weakened heart could not endure the pain of separation from his colleagues, with whom he had worked all his life and from whom he was now parted in the hour of their bitterest trial.

The inmates of the camp that made up the block where the professors were included, after much persuasion, finally told the complete story of the professor's arrest. When the German troops invaded Poland not even the greatest pessimist in Cracow expected the disaster that occurred five days later with the arrival of enemy forces in their city. But the pro-

fessors quickly pulled themselves together despite the shock of seeing German troops and swastikas all over Cracow. They knew that they, the representatives of Polish culture, must set an example to their countrymen.

The professors continued their story. The beginning of a new semester was at hand. Here was an opportunity to show that Polish intellectual life was going on in spite of the national catastrophe. All the professors dressed in their academic robes, assembled in the university chapel for the usual opening ceremony. The Germans reacted promptly. They invited the professors of all the institutions of learning in Cracow to a lecture in the university auditorium. The theme was: "The attitude of the German authorities to culture and learning." When the rector of the university declared himself in favor of accepting the invitation, all the professors bowed to the decision.

When all were assembled, the head of the Gestapo mounted the lectern and announced: "In view of the fact that the professors have opened the new semester without consulting the German authorities, whereby they have plainly demonstrated their hostility to the Reich, and in view of the fact that the University of Cracow has always been a bastion of Polish nationalism, all the professors present are hereby declared under arrest."

The number of men arrested was 174. They included the entire faculty of the University of Cracow and some students who had "stolen" into the auditorium out of curiosity. They were herded into police trucks. The professors, many of whom had passed their seventieth year, had to climb onto a platform three feet above the crowd and any who were too slow were urged on by rubber truncheons.

In prison they had to share a common cell with all kinds of criminals. Prison life with daily physical mistreatment began. The block fuehrers yelled at them: "If you had been illiterates like the rest of the Polish boors you'd still be able to

sleep with your women. Anyway, all you know is how to stir up revolt. But, never fear, you scoundrels, we'll drive such nonsense out of your noodles and make you tame." Another block fuehrer took up from here, saying: "You and the cursed priests have brought all this misery on Poland. If you lice and bedbug carriers hadn't forced your seditious ideas on the race of serfs they would have worked for us peacefully." And the 167 professors, only three months before a power in the world of learning, helplessly endured these insults for an hour and a half.

Szalet's account of how the Gestapo made sport of "Chanukah," as they did of the Day of Atonement, is horrible beyond description, and yet besides its religious meaning Chanukah had a marked national character and was regarded as a symbol of Jewish heroism. One of the comrades volunteered to tell the story at the insistence of a block leader, knowing that it was only a trap so that the poor unfortunates would be made more miserable, for the block leader in introducing the comrade (who was one of the smallest and weakest, but a good speaker and a profound student of Jewish history) said: "Did the Maccabees stink like you plague sores?" This question left no doubt that the unfortunates had a black day before them, but without hesitation, in spite of it all, the comrade (as Szalet called him) in a firm voice began his story.

"Some 165 years before the beginning of the Christian era, the Jewish nation was again passing through a period of persecution. Not only were they no longer masters in their own land, but the Greek tyrant, Antioch Epiphanes, sought to take from them their dearest possession, their faith. In the Jewish Temple a statue of the God, Zeus, was set up and the Jews were forced to bow down to this image. To refuse was death. But many preferred death to idolatry. At that time there lived in Medin a man named Mattathias," etc., etc., the story is too well known to continue it here.

At the end of his story the block captain again yelled: "So even two thousand years ago you rebelled against constituted authorities," and gave the speaker such a blow that he staggered and fell. That, Szalet tells us, was the moment the block fuehrer had been waiting for. With his feet he continued his assault. "This also is in memory of your miraculous victory," he screamed at the man lying motionless before him. The next day the "chosen" man felt weak, for he had suffered severe injuries. But when the block captain was absent momentarily the rest pressed him to speak, he rose and gave as his text a sentence from the Prophet Ezekiel: "And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee: By thy blood thou wilt live; yea, I said unto thee: by thy blood thou wilt live."

Our comrade let the full weight of these words sink in before he went on, says Szalet, and continued: "Are not these words meant for our generation too? Is not our blood a testimony that we too shall live on? Are we not living proof of this miracle perpetually manifested in our people? And does not this miracle teach us that—although we have victims every day—we must offer ourselves as victims; that is, we must not give up our hope. Hope is the greatest Jewish treasure, and faith in God is the key to it."

This introduction touched strange depths in the poor associates of the "speaker". They were transported from the world of everyday into the realms of the unearthly and supernatural, into the mystery of the eternal Jewish renewal which they had all experienced for themselves. They sat rooted in their places. After a pause he continued:

Our sufferings are old, like our history. For 2,000 years our blood has flowed in some corner of the earth. Our persecutors have been many and the pretexts by which they sought to justify their murders have been many. And yet, not all their hostility, not all their contempt, nor all their anger have availed to wipe us out. As if we still had a mission to fulfil on earth, we live on, as we shall live on forever. And now a new

hater of our race has arisen—cruder, more dangerous, than any ever before. We are the ladder on whose rungs he climbed to supreme power. From this dark grave I call to account the men responsible, the men, everywhere in the world, who let this happen without a protest. They left us to the vengeance of the power-hungry beast of prey, because they thought as long as he had our bodies to mangle the rest of the world was safe from his greed. But their silent toleration of this orgy was recoiled upon themselves. When the beast had torn us to pieces, he threw himself upon other victims, one after another, until the whole world ran with blood. Not until then did the world realize that Hitler's Jew-hate was merely a part of his world-hate; that he had chosen the Jews as his first victims because Jews are always hated by those who want to enslave a part of humanity as a step toward enslaving the rest; because to be a Jew and to love progress and individual freedom are the same thing. . . .

Where was justice then, and where is justice today. Years ago when our sufferings were light in comparison to the present, they promised us a national home, and in the era of Hitler, when we are literally being exterminated in one country after another, they are getting ready to take our national home away; and this when all the world talks of democracy, justice, and freedom. How do those principles agree with practice toward the Jews? But the period of our misery and homelessness is drawing to an end. All justice, all falsehood will be buried in the wreckage of the world that is now being smashed, and out of the ruins a new world will arise, a world which will give justice where justice is due.

And with these words he struck up the opening notes of the Jewish Hymn of Hope:

While yet the olden fires burn
Within each loyal Hebrew breast,
And toward the East our eyes return
With Zion still our only quest. . . .

and the author says: and softly, but with enthusiasm, we joined in:

Oh, then our Hope—it is not dead,
And ancient Hope and true
Again the sacred soil to tread
Where David's banners flew.

The words, Szalet tells us, went on working in all their minds and hearts, and in tribute to the speech they all maintained a thoughtful silence. Every sentence furnished material for conversation.

Elsewhere in the book we are told that Karl, the block senior who was most humane, told them that he had a surprise

for them. Every prisoner in all three Polish blocks was going to get a loaf of white bread and that for this purpose a mark had been deducted from their accounts. This announcement filled them with almost uncontrollable joy. Think of it! A whole loaf of white bread, and white bread at that, not the damp, sticky brown mess they got every day. To eat almost their fill of bread for once! It was more than they could ever have expected.

Szalet elsewhere continues his story about Karl, who said:

I don't need to tell you what I think of those cannibals. This war will come to an end some day. Then, as once before, the Allied Powers will sit in judgment on Germany. If Germany is once again granted a peace which fails to punish those guilty of war crimes, that peace will contain the seeds of a third war. We must not look on and say nothing. Every one of us must make it his duty, if he gets out of here alive, to force his way to the judges' bench and demand a seat on the jury. For only if the evil-doers are judged by those who have suffered crimes of their own bodies, will the sentence be just. If we neglect this duty, all our suffering will be in vain and our guilt in a future world butchery will be just as great as that of the deluded judges.

This constructive thinking and, what is more surprising, speaking, on the part of an overseer in a concentration camp was not only brave, but prophetic and true. We now see, however, that much of what was hoped for, not only by Karl but by

tens of thousands all over the democratic world who thought as Karl did, has not come to pass.

At last, after incredible misery, Szalet was one of the very few who came out alive by reason of the untiring efforts of his daughter, Gracia. A leading "Polizeirat" in the Alien Police had gained a reputation among the Poles for being very sympathetic although he could not accomplish anything for them. Gracia asked to see him. He telephoned to Gestapo Headquarters, and within half an hour the confirmation of Szalet's release arrived by teletype. Thirty hours later, he tells us, he and his daughter left Berlin by plane. Each of them had only an overnight bag. Everything else was lost, and on the next morning they arrived in Genoa while Hitler's troops were marching into Holland and Belgium.

They had just time enough to board the ship *Conte Verde*, the last ship that sailed for the Far East, and exactly a month later—after they reached Shanghai—Italy declared war on the Allies and the route to the Orient was cut off.

The epilogue to this fantastic experience is that Szalet and his family are now in the United States, where he wrote *Experiment 'E'—A Report From An Extermination Laboratory*.

"It would be a mistake . . . to ascribe to Roman legal conceptions an undivided sway over the development of law and institutions during the Middle Ages. The Teuton came under the influence, not of Rome only, but also of Christianity; and through the Church there entered into Europe a potent leaven of Judaic thought. The laws of Moses as well as the laws of Rome contributed suggestion and impulse to the men and institutions which were to prepare the modern world; and if we could but have the eyes to see the subtle elements of thought which constitute the gross substance of our present habit, both as regards the sphere of private life and as regards the action of the state, we should easily discover how very much besides religion we owe to the Jew."

—WOODROW WILSON, *The State* (1890)

Is Bi-Nationalism a Solution?

By MARK M. KRUG

SURPRISING AS IT MAY BE, it must be admitted that the recommendations of the Anglo-American Commission that Palestine shall never become either a Jewish or an Arab State, received a favorable reception from two political parties in the Yishuv, the Ichud and the Hashomer Hatzair. In Palestine, Hashomer Hatzair proudly announced in its daily organ, the *Mishmar*, that the Commission has accepted the bi-national recommendations almost verbatim from its own memorandum. In America, *Commentary* claimed that the Palestinian mentioned in the report who suggested the bi-national solution is none other than its own correspondent in Palestine, Moshe Smilansky, one of the leaders of the Ichud party. The memorandum submitted by Hashomer Hatzair to the Commission bears the title, "The Case for a Bi-Nationalist State", and is a very lucid and comprehensive exposition of bi-nationalism.

I shall attempt to summarize as briefly, but also as objectively as possible, the reasoning of the authors of this memorandum.

Hashomer Hatzair agrees with the other Zionist political parties that the Zionist case is morally and legally a valid one. It demands that all restrictions on Jewish immigration and the purchase of land as embodied in the British White Paper of 1939 be abolished immediately, and believes that Palestine's absorptive capacities will enable the immigration and settlement of several millions of Jews without displacing Arabs or imposing any hardship on them. "The Arabs", says the memorandum, not only did not suffer because of Jewish colonization but are now in a stronger and better position in Palestine

than ever before. Their population doubled in the last 25 years and their national income has gone up by 40 to 60%. The standard of living of Palestinian Arabs is considerably higher than that achieved by their brethren in the independent Arab states."

Nevertheless, the memorandum acknowledges the legitimacy of the fear of Jewish domination so often expressed by the Arabs. In order to assure continued Jewish immigration and colonization, the Palestinian Arabs must be assured that the Jews will never dominate them politically. The established policy of the World Zionist Organization which as defined in the Biltmore Program, calls for the early establishment of a "Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine," has increased the suspicions and the fears of the Arabs and stiffened their opposition to the Zionist endeavor. Since the bi-nationalists believe that it is essential and imperative to win the consent and the goodwill of the Arabs, they are therefore, unalterably opposed to the establishment of a Jewish State or a Jewish Commonwealth in the whole or in a part of Palestine.

The memorandum, however, makes it clear that Jewish immigration and colonization should not be contingent upon Arab consent but demands that a supreme effort be made to arrive immediately at a "reasonable settlement" with the Arabs. This "reasonable settlement", contains the following major proposals:

1. Palestine must never become a Jewish or an Arab State.
2. Palestine is to become a bi-national Arab-Jewish State where sovereignty

can be exercised justly and equally for the benefit of all the inhabitants.

3. Jewish immigration is to continue, subject only to the economic absorptive capacity of the country. A Jewish majority is envisioned in the course of time. But "the relations between both peoples must be based on the principle of mutual non-domination."
4. The Constitution of the Arab-Jewish State must be based on the principle of parity between Jews and institutions "regardless of which community is in the majority at any given time." (italics mine).

In the meantime, Palestine should be placed under a Permanent Supervisory Committee of the Three Great Powers, U.S.A., Britain, and Russia, which would select an Administration to govern the country for the next 20-25 years. The main functions of this Administration are to be:

(a) "To promote the settlement in Palestine of at least three million Jews during the next 20-25 years by developing the economic possibilities of the country to their full capacity.

(b) To raise the standard of living and education of the Palestinian Arabs to approximately the present Jewish level during the same period.

(c) To promote and actively encourage Jewish-Arab cooperation in every field and by every legitimate means available as well as to encourage the gradual development of self-governing institutions, local and national, on bi-national lines until the state of full independence within the framework of a bi-national constitution is reached."

As to the economic structure of the future Arab-Jewish State, Hashomer Hatzair looks forward to a radically socialist state dominated by a close alliance of Jewish and Arab workers.

Admitting that this plan is comprehensive and lucid, it must also be practicable, But that is what it is not. It should be emphasized here that the bi-nationalist program of Hashomer Hatzair is not identical with the ideological platform of Magnes' Ichud Party. Both strive toward a bi-national Jewish-Arab State, both accept the principles of non-domination and parity in government, but while Magnes wants Jewish immigration stopped when numerical parity between Jews and Arabs is reached, Hashomer Hatzair, as we have seen, demands virtually unlimited Jewish immigration. Furthermore, Magnes wants an exclusive British trusteeship over Palestine and rejects the idea of a socialist bi-national state dominated by Jewish and Arab workers.

Let us first consider the proposals for the "reasonable settlement" of the Arabs made by Hashomer Hatzair. "The Arab-National Program" which was formulated in 1946 by the Higher Arab Committee, in which all six Arab political parties participated, consists of three brief points: (1) immediate and complete cessation of Jewish immigration, (2) ban on Jewish purchasing of land in *all parts* of the country, (3) the *immediate* establishment of an Arab State in the *whole* of Palestine. The Arab leaders, refused then and refuse now even to guarantee equal rights to all Jewish inhabitants of Palestine. The Mufti in his testimony before the Peel Commission reserved to the future Arab State the right to examine the question of civil rights for those Jews who entered Palestine in recent years. This simple and concise political platform still stands and so far not a single Arab leader has failed to give it his endorsement. Those like Fahri Bey Nashashibi, who dared to express a desire for a compromise with the Jews have long ago been murdered by the Mufti's henchmen.

Bi-nationalists argue that the present Arab leadership is undemocratic and represents only the upper feudal class. This is true enough, but as the result of the

British policy of supporting Arab extremists, the Mufti and his group today dominate the political and religious life of the whole Arab community. The Nashashibi Defense Party and the National Bloc Party which were and are opposed to the Mufti's policies are completely isolated, and their leaders live in forced political retirement.

One would expect the Arab workers, at least those few who became class conscious and unionized, to accept with enthusiasm and gratitude Hashomer Hatzair's offer to share in a dominating position in a proposed bi-national state. But in reality, the two Arab Labor Organizations in Palestine, the Federation of Palestine Workers and the Federation of Arab Trade Unions are viciously anti-Zionist and their papers attack and vilify the Jewish labor parties with unmatched vehemence. The Arab Communist Party has recently endorsed "The National Program" and its representative has joined the Higher Arab Executive, the successor to the Higher Arab Committee.

Hashomer Hatzair and the Ichud Party led by Magnes and Smilansky have been expounding their "moderate and sensible" ideology for the last 25 years but have failed so far to receive the slightest encouragement from any Arab quarter. On the contrary, the Arab press in Palestine considers moderates like Magnes, Buber, and Smilansky, far more dangerous than such "extremists" as Ben-Gurion and Dr. Sneh. They are in deadly fear that Britain and America might accept the solution suggested by Magnes and allow about 600,000 Jews to enter Palestine until numerical parity between Jews and Arabs is reached. One would also expect that the Arab nationalists would show less hostility toward the settlements of Hashomer Hatzair, but during the Arab riots of 1936, Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim like Mishmar Haemek and Ain Hashofet were subjected night after night to vicious and bloody attacks by the Mufti's gangs. It was no secret that these gangsters found

shelter and support in neighboring Arab villages which were exposed for years to the Hashomer Hatzair ideology of non-domination and "workers solidarity."

The present Arab leadership, both religious and political,—and we shall have to wait for many decades before a new and democratic leadership emerges,—is simply not interested in these well intentioned assurances of future political non-domination. The Arabs should be given enough credit to understand that Magnes' parity is no parity at all. They know that even today when Jews constitute only one-third of the population, they are already stronger economically, financially, and *militarily* than the two-thirds Arab majority. The Arabs regard further Jewish immigration and colonization as the greatest danger to their political future. The largest Arab daily in Palestine, *The Falastin*, wrote on October 27, 1946, "In the opinion of the English, the Conference will be a complete success if the Arabs desist from their demands regarding immigration and land sales—no more and no less. If on the other hand, the Arabs insist on these two points, it is they, and not the English, who will be made responsible for the breakdown of the Conference. Such is the English logic. *Immigration and land sales are the very essence of the Palestine Arab cause.*" (italics mine).

The Arabs and their Palestine leaders have proclaimed time and time again that they are not interested in long range assurances. They want Jewish immigration stopped now, and they demand the establishment of an Arab State now!

Bi-nationalists of all shades who try to make us believe that by giving up the demand for a Jewish State in Palestine we will gain Arab consent for further Jewish immigration and colonization, are deceiving themselves and deceive those to whom they preach. The only way to appease the Arabs and to reach a "reasonable settlement" with them, is to consent to close the doors of Palestine, to let the

remnant saved from Hitler's crematoria rot in the D.P. camps and to commit the Palestinian Yishuv to the status of a permanent minority left to the mercy of the Mufti and his gang. Are the bi-nationalists ready to buy off the Arabs on those terms?

One can hardly blame the Arabs for the outright rejection of a Hashomer Hatzair Constitution for the Arab-Jewish State which will "guarantee" them parity in government even if 3,000,000 Jews enter the country. How can they be assured that the millions of new Jewish immigrants will abide by the agreement made by the present leadership of the Yishuv or will not deny them a truly democratic and proportionate representation in the government?

The present struggle for a democratic municipal government in Jerusalem should provide a concrete example of the fact that the principle of parity, besides being a travesty on justice and democracy, is utterly unworkable. For four years now, Jerusalem has had no Council or Mayor and is governed by an appointed British official. When, in 1937, the British exiled Dr. Hussein Khaldi for active support of the Arab riots, Daniel Auster, the Jewish Deputy Mayor became the acting head of the city's government, while in the City Council the Arabs still had an absolute majority. In spite of the fact that there are 92,000 Jews in the capital as compared to 50,000 Arabs, the Vaad Leumi did not insist on new elections but was satisfied to continue the status quo indefinitely. The relations and the cooperation between Jewish and Arab Councillors were excellent and it was quite unusual for the Council to vote on municipal questions along national lines. The division was rather between the conservative Arab and Jewish city fathers and the liberals on both sides. The Jewish members of the City Council were in the main wealthy Sephardic Jews born in Palestine who spoke excellent Arabic and knew well the customs and mores of their Arab col-

leagues. They were often reproached by the Hebrew press for leaning too far backward in order not to offend Arab pride and for not making it clear to the Arabs that after all the Jews represented an overwhelming majority of the city's population.

But the Arabs were not to be satisfied. All during the war years, the Arab press protested bitterly against the "imposition" of a Jewish rule over "Ill Kuds", the Arab name for Jerusalem which means "the holy city." To have a Jewish acting mayor in Jerusalem where the Mosque of Omar stands was in their eyes an insult to the Moslem religion. The Arab Councillors were insulted, vilified, and accused of being Jewish stooges. They resisted the heavy pressure as long as the war lasted but were forced to submit their collective resignation shortly after V-J Day. The Palestine Government, as usual, bowed before Arab blackmail and intimidation and dissolved the City Council, removed Mr. Auster and appointed a British official as acting head of the city's government.

The Arabs without batting an eyelash demanded the *appointment* of an Arab mayor and a majority on the City Council. They repeatedly declared that the fact that the Jews constituted a majority of the population is irrelevant—and with enviable simplicity and singleness of purpose, argued that they will recognize only an Arab mayor in the "Arab" city of "Ill Kuds." The Jews naturally demanded new and democratic municipal elections.

After months of negotiation, the British finally proposed that the City Council be composed of one-third Arabs and one-third Jews and one-third Englishmen, and that the Mayor's office be rotated among the representatives of the three communities. The "extremist" (in the eyes of the bi-nationalists) Vaad Leumi *accepted* this undemocratic compromise as an unjust and exorbitant but necessary price for purchasing Arab cooperation. The Arabs, however, rejected the British proposal outright and unconditionally. They again

demanding an absolute majority in the city government and an Arab mayor. Finally the government appointed the Chief Justice of Palestine, Sir. J. Fitzgerald, as a one-man Commission to study the problem and to suggest a solution. After months of diligent inquiry the Chief Justice submitted the report which proposed the partition of Jerusalem into separate Jewish, Arab, and British-controlled cities. And, again, while there are indications that the Jews might accept this new solution, the Arabs lost no time in denouncing the report and its author. In the meantime Jerusalem is still governed by a British official. One wonders what Smilansky, Magnes, and Hashomer Hatzair would suggest as a possible "compromise" in the Jerusalem crisis.

The bi-nationalists are spending a great deal of time and energy lately in heaping ridicule and contempt on the proposed Jewish State. Smilansky, writing for the hospitable *Commentary*, called it a "Jewish statelet" and argued that small states have no "*raison d'être*" in today's world dominated by great powers. He is disturbed by the fact that a new and small Jewish state would have to lean for protection on one of the Big Three Powers. This argument coming from Moshe Smilansky, O.B.E., who not so long ago advocated a con-dominion status for Palestine in the framework of the British Empire, sounds somewhat strange. It is no secret that almost all states in Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, lean, to put it mildly, on Russia, or on England and America. Does not a "statelet" like Greece put all its hopes for future independent

existence on British and American support? Did not the Polish and the Czechoslovakian "statelets" decide to stand or fall by the side of the Soviets?

Smilansky, for one, should know better than to belittle the advantages in establishing a "viable Jewish state in an adequate area of Palestine," which would have about 5000 square miles and a potential population of three million Jews. It is well to remember that the Republic of Lebanon on the northern border of Palestine has a territory of not more than 3,470 square miles and a population of 800,000. If we Jews had had a "statelet" as large as Lebanon during the years of Hitler's reign and later during the war, hundreds of thousands of Jews could have been saved from death, gas chambers, and crematoria. Our representatives, elected to the Security Council, as Lebanon was, would as a Jewish delegation, have taken their rightful seats in the United Nations Assembly, and our Consul in Kielce might possibly have saved the Jews who were killed there during a recent pogrom.

It would be a tragic mistake to allow bi-nationalist illusions, however well intentioned, to becloud our thinking and cause us to stray from the road leading toward the just and logical fulfillment of our age-old Zionist aspirations. In the immortal words of Thomas Paine: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot, will in this crisis, shrink from the services of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of men and women."

The Jews in Dispersion have not the possibility of proclaiming their own truth to humankind; but I believe that when they once have a free Commonwealth, with schools and universities of their own where they can speak out safely, we shall be able to learn what it is that the Jewish people have to say to us.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1762)

Rebirth of a City

By S. L. SHNEIDERMAN

WARSAW is the most devastated city in Europe, but it is also the city where the pulse of life seems to beat with the greatest intensity. During my first walk in the Polish capital I had a weird surrealistic vision. Each house seemed to me like the skeleton of a gigantic kangaroo with living creatures in its pouch. In bombed houses, wherever the flames had spared the walls of a room, a new frame had been put in the window, and colored curtains drawn across it. Young potted plants flowered on the sill. Often such a restored place was situated on the top floor of a burned building, and through the wide gap in the walls one could see a crude staircase made of unpainted boards leading up to the newly built nest. Sometimes a room stood in the center of an immense wall, and with its window lighted at night, it seemed strangely like a one-eyed Cyclops peering out into the shattered city. I also saw such salvaged rooms in basements, and sometimes heard the tender chords of Chopin's music from windows below the street.

As I walked through Warsaw I often saw men and women kneeling before the wrecked walls of a church. On one wall a sign read: "Entrance to the church." Only the cellar of that church had remained intact; after descending a few steps I found myself in an underground cavern vaulted in Gothic style. At the altar stood a priest, officiating at a mass for a group of shadowy figures.

In the center of Warsaw only a few houses had remained intact. But one could see how day by day the city was binding up its wounds, its lacerated body

being filled slowly with living cells. Especially numerous were the shops opening up everywhere amid the shambles. In the once gracious and gay Marszałkowska Street, which had combined the elegance of the Champs Elysees with the rapid rhythm of Fifth Avenue, I found dozens of hastily improvised shops whose rich show windows were full of coquettishly dressed mannequins, silverware, jewelry, glassware and china. The food stores were particularly luxurious; they had fish and meat and vegetables, large blue Polish plums, pink apples, oblong yellow pears and, nested in woven baskets, fine Polish mushrooms which still bore traces of the blessed land, the fruits of peace that the Polish soil can produce. But all this abundance was only a mirage. Above the bursting show cases rose bare soot-begrimed walls, and the dust of crumbling paving blocks drifted along the streets. These riches of the land could for the moment be enjoyed only by a small minority who live on the margin of this Polish world in flux.

The streets of Warsaw were full of peddlers, and their picturesque clatter often gave one the illusion of being in some little town in the Near East. I scanned the faces of the peddlers and the owners of the new shops, and did not find a single Jew among them. In Warsaw, where only seven years ago every third inhabitant was a Jew and most of the shops had been in Jewish hands, today there are only a few thousand Jews in a population of 500,000 and there is not one Jewish shop or Jewish peddler. Yet, although the faces of the peddlers have

not a single Semitic feature, the Oriental bustle is greater than ever before.

Around the Hotel Polonia on Jerozolimskie Aleje, near the main post office on Nowogrodzka and the railway station on Towarowa, there were groups of women, men, and children, with baskets of apples, stands of baked goods, drinks and sweets. There people buy sausages cooked in steam kettles, drink soup ladled out of great pots, try on shoes and clothes and buy herbs in the street, just as in Arab markets. The peddlers often do not know how to count the money they ask for. At one table a loaf of bread costs twenty zlotys, at the next the same loaf costs forty.

Every peasant and artisan personally brings his wares for sale. Gone is the traditional Jewish middleman who used to bring the peasants' produce to the city and the most essential industrial articles to the village. The role of the Jewish middleman has now been taken over by inexperienced peasants, city workers and intellectuals who seem intoxicated by their new roles as businessmen, and who, in their helplessness, create a much greater noise and bustle in the streets of Warsaw than the Jews ever did.

The main street market is situated around the temporary railway station on Towarowa Street that adjoins the remains of the red-brick ghetto wall. Many of the customers were Jews who got off incoming trains in the early morning hours—Polish Jews who had fled from the Nazis and spent six years of the war in remote Soviet Asia. They were now returning to look for what was left of their homes or their relatives. But when a Polish peddler hands a Jew a loaf of bread or a bowl of soup, he wonders whence this Jew has come. He was persuaded that he would never again see a Jew. Many of these street peddlers have furnished their homes with the belongings of murdered Jews; some are living in Jewish apartments; others have inherited the workshops of Jewish tailors or shoemakers. Looking at the returning Jews, they

wonder whether among their number there is not some relative of the Jews whose goods they had appropriated. In the smaller towns, where the inhabitants do not feel the hand of authority as directly as do those who live in the capital, such newly returned Jews have often been murdered.

This has not happened in Warsaw. Here in the capital there are still many old-timers, the tried and tested Polish workers, who from 1905 to 1945 fought on the barricades side by side with their Jewish comrades, and who in September 1939, when Warsaw was deserted by the fleeing generals and the colonels of the government, defended their beloved city together with their Jewish co-citizens. When one remembers the wave of anti-Jewish hatred that engulfed so much of the defeated Polish population under Nazism, the help given by the handful of Polish workers to their Jewish comrades acquires truly heroic proportions. Through the sewage canals they brought food and ammunition to the Jews fighting in the ghetto in 1943 and, when the ghetto went up in flames, they rescued the few survivors through the same sewage pipes, sometimes wading up to their necks in excrement. Nevertheless, even in Warsaw, no Jew would set up his stand today among the peddlers who come every day from the villages and towns to display their wares in the wrecked streets.

From every stone of Warsaw there seems to cry out the accusation of the Polish people against the Germans. Its voice is heard above the roar of the excavators and cranes; it calls to witness the silent crosses on the burned and crumbling walls which mark the places where the heroic insurrectionists fell and were buried under the streets of their native city.

Many bare walls have affixed to them black marble tablets with golden letters. On Sundays, the relatives of the martyrs visit the graves and place fresh flowers

on the sidewalk slabs under which lie the defenders of Warsaw. The passersby often stop and bow before the graves, sharing the grief of the relatives. Such graves, which cannot be found in any other European city, are particularly numerous on the once elegant Nowy Swiat, which has been almost entirely destroyed. It was here, in the first days of the insurrection of 1944, that the most violent battle took place.

Immediately after the liberation of Warsaw, the Poles restored, at the entrance of this street, the monument of Nicolaus Copernicus, the famous Polish astronomer, who "stopped the sun and set the earth in motion." As of old, the medieval astronomer with his long locks of hair sits on his black marble pedestal, holding a globe in his hands. During the years of Nazi occupation, this bronze figure, enthroned at a bustling street intersection, was the scene of many a patriotic demonstration. In the winter of 1941-1942 the Nazis substituted a German inscription for the one in Polish on the monument, hoping thus to put an end to the age-old dispute as to Copernicus' nationality. The Polish inscription ran: "To Nicolaus Copernicus, his countrymen," the German: "Nicolaus Copernicus, the great astronomer." Considering the usual arrogance of the Germans, this change was rather discreet, but the very next day the new inscription was removed by patriots and replaced by the following: "For trying to make me a German I shall punish you by extending this winter for two full months."

This was the terrible winter during which the Germans suffered their first defeat near Moscow. The threat of the great astronomer to stop the sun for two full months was indeed the most serious one that could then be levelled at the Germans. All Warsaw laughed at this biting jibe, placed on the statue under the very noses of the strongest police patrol in Warsaw, whose headquarters were opposite the monument. Poles filed by the

spot in droves, and only late in the afternoon did the Nazis realize that the inscription had been changed.

After crushing the insurrection of 1944, the Germans drove the people out and systematically destroyed Warsaw. Then they removed the statue of Copernicus to a little town in Silesia, where it was later discovered by the liberators of Warsaw.

The bronze figure of Copernicus was the first monument to be put back in its place in liberated Warsaw. At that time the city was still deserted, dead.

"Warsaw was dead and empty," writes a Pole who visited Warsaw the day after its liberation. "There was not a single building intact. As far as the eye could see, there were ruins and piles of ashes, remnants of barricades, unburied corpses, upset and broken streetcars, bent street lamps, uprooted trees—a chaos of destruction amidst the silence of death.

"There was nothing but the sky and heaps of rubble. Suddenly a man rose up among the ruins. He was like an apparition. Ragged, barefoot, with dishevelled hair, he carried a heavy bag on his stooped shoulders. Perceiving our car which could barely make its way through the ruins, he threw down his bag and vanished among the begrimed walls. We called to him, but he did not answer. He was afraid and refused to believe that we were not Germans. In the bag he had thrown away we found a pair of old galoshes, a pair of worn shoes, and some odd pieces of bric-a-brac impregnated with the decayed smell of cellars."

It might have been less costly and taken less time to build an entirely new city on the green meadows surrounding the ruined capital than to clear the debris and patch up the ghostly wreckage of the old walls.

No one has considered such a plan even for a moment. Warsaw is deeply cherished by every Pole; it is a symbol that cannot be replaced by any other city, even the most modern. Razed centuries ago, it was

restored, bigger and more beautiful, on the foundations of the old ruins. After the Swedish invasion of 1655 only 277 houses remained in Warsaw, and the population was reduced to one-tenth. According to the chroniclers, the surviving inhabitants were exempted from taxation, and within ten years 1,200 houses were built—a miraculous achievement for its time.

Today Warsaw is again experiencing a period of feverish construction, and once again it is planned to rebuild the city in ten years. All Poland has rushed to the aid of her capital so recently murdered by the Nazis and now being resurrected. Specially formed committees for the reconstruction of Warsaw are active in every corner of Poland, collecting money and gifts in kind. The contributions from industrial Silesia are particularly important; there the workers devote special days to producing building materials for the reconstruction of the capital city.

A word often heard in Warsaw is BOS, an abbreviation for *Biuro Odbudowy Stolicy* (Office for the Reconstruction of the Capital), which is situated at No. 33, Chocimska Street. BOS is the laboratory in which the vision of the new Warsaw is gradually realized. It serves as the executive organ of the "Council for the Reconstruction of Warsaw," composed of the greatest Polish architects, historians, economists, writers, artists, and political leaders with President Bierut at the head. All the creative forces of Poland are represented in that council.

Brigades of volunteers clearing the rubble can often be seen, especially on holidays. Money and machines are lacking but tens of thousands of hands are willing to help in the work. Members of professional societies, students, soldiers, writers, artists, and even Ministers, wield shovels to dig the foundations of the city.

The architects and engineers of BOS have a clear conception of the outlines of

the future Warsaw and one of them, Professor Jan Zachwatowicz, has ventured to describe the appearance of Warsaw in 1955. In this architect's vision the foremost place is occupied by the spires of the many reconstructed churches, which "will gleam in the rising sun."

The Poles are profoundly attached to their national tradition. Though the new Warsaw will be one of the most modern cities in Europe, every building that had architectural value or was connected with a historical event, whether of the remote past or of the recent tragic years, will be restored. In addition to the crosses on the graves of the fallen heroes and the inscriptions on houses near which the Nazis carried out mass executions, there are many red tablets without inscriptions—these indicate historical buildings to be restored. There are nearly a thousand such buildings. Identical red tablets have also been placed on ruins under which lie buried important cultural treasures, libraries, works of art, and archives.

Students play a great part in the unearthing of these treasures. They are employed in the excavation of the ghetto archives collected by Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum, a historian who died a martyr's death. Hundreds of students also reported for the tremendous work of clearing the debris of the only skyscraper in Warsaw, the sixteen-story building which during the uprising of 1944 was the favored target of German planes and artillery. Under it lies the library of the famous stage director, Leon Schiller—five thousand volumes of dramatic works.

The blueprints drawn by the architects of BOS provide for the erection of many skyscrapers. They will not be as tall as those of New York or Chicago; the character of the city with its picturesque squares and romantic corners, will be preserved. Nevertheless, there will be all the necessary facilities to make it the most important intersection point of the

great roads between Russia and Western Europe, and between the Baltic and the Black Sea.

The rebuilt city will be divided, like Paris, into two equal parts by its river; and fourteen bridges, instead of the former three, will link these parts. The Poniatowski Bridge, a splendid architectural achievement, has already been rebuilt. After the first World War, the reconstruction of this bridge took seven years; this time, thanks to the use of advanced methods and the superhuman efforts of the workers and engineers, the reconstruction work was completed in one

year. It was the Silesian metal workers who supplied the gigantic steel framework of the bridge.

The blueprints show the buildings projected for each quarter and street of the future city. There is only one exception—the area of the former ghetto. The desolation of that part of Warsaw is still so great, the tragedy that it experienced still so fresh in the minds of the people, that even the visionary architects who dream into the future of iron and concrete have not yet ventured to draw up the plans for the buildings that will rise on the ashes of the old ghetto.

THE BROTHERS

By HAROLD APPLEBAUM

Is it so much, so very much to ask
In these uncivil days when you and I
And half the world still fumble with a task
Unsolved, undone—is it so much to try
A rough new road, not having loved the old
For all its smoothness and the fathers gone
Before? Is it so much, forsaking gold
And silk and waking in a warrior dawn,
A bomb away from glory, where the hand
That knows the lightning holds bright death for all?
Love is the only thing. Here in the land
Of more-than-plenty, millions can recall
A world of nothing but a mother's touch.
We are all brothers. It is not so much.

MIDWESTERN COMMENTARY

by

ELMER GERTZ

PROGRESS SOMETIMES COMES IN DEVIOUS ways.

At the last session of the Illinois General Assembly, those who are opposed to racial discrimination in housing concentrated on a bill to abolish restrictive covenants. They testified in public hearings and sent statements to the legislative powers that be; but the bill, like its numerous predecessors in other sessions, was quickly buried. Not even the sponsors really expected it to pass.

While this was going on, Governor Green's henchmen and representatives of Mayor Kennelly's Committee for Housing Action were conferring on a legislative program. They agreed, among other things, on a Blighted Areas Redevelopment Act.

When the Act in question was submitted to the full membership of Mayor Kennelly's Committee, various amendments were proposed, including a ban on restrictive covenants. Without a dissenting vote the committee agreed on such ban, persuaded the Governor's men to incorporate the provision in the proposed law, and secured its enactment. The Blighted Areas Redevelopment Act of 1947 contains the following historic provision:

Any deed of conveyance by the (Land Clearance) Commission may provide such restrictions as are required by the plan for redevelopment and the building and zoning ordinances, but no deed of conveyance either by the Commission or any subsequent owner, shall contain a covenant running with the land or other provision

prohibiting occupancy of the premises by any person because of race, creed, or color.

Translated into everyday language, this means that slum lands acquired by the local Land Clearance Commission and resold to private developers may never be subject to restrictive covenants.

Nobody can pretend that this provision in itself will end housing discrimination; but, certainly, it helps to bring about a better situation and is part of the general process of attrition whereby the stone wall of prejudice is gradually worn down. It may very well be that this legislative enactment will be used by the Courts in establishing a public policy against restrictive covenants.

Finally, the United States Supreme Court has granted leave to appeal in two restrictive covenant cases—both from middle western states. The Michigan and Missouri cases in connection with which *certiorari* was granted by the highest court may afford the historic opportunity for a declaration which will finally invalidate the system of legalized Ghettos.

This writer and other attorneys who are concerned with establishing a pattern of nonsegregation have been invited to participate in the National Conference called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At this Conference the technique of handling the two appeals in the United States Supreme Court will be worked out.

Various groups, including the Chicago

Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, are now considering the desirability of intervention in the pending Supreme Court cases. It will certainly be an interesting spectacle to watch, as the opposing forces line up.

as these words are written, that the ordinance, in the form proposed by them, will be enacted and become a further weapon in the local fight for decency.

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IT IS ALTOGETHER POSSIBLE THAT BY THE time this issue of the CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM goes to press, Chicago will have an anti-hate ordinance which may help curb the post-war flood of racial and religious defamation.

Alderman Benjamin Becker introduced such an ordinance in the City Council and it was passed by that body. Thereafter, a number of people expressed the view that in its then form the ordinance might impair the constitutional guarantees of the freedom of expression. The matter was reopened by the Council and the proposed ordinance was subjected to the closest scrutiny by various individuals and organizations.

I was particularly impressed by the brief prepared by Mr. Byron S. Miller, the newly appointed Midwest Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress. Mr. Miller expressed the view that the original ordinance was clearly constitutional but of little practical value. He, therefore, prepared an alternative ordinance which he believed not only constitutional but carefully designed to permit prosecution of hate-mongers without endangering the free expression of ideas on racial, religious, or nationality matters. Then a very heartening thing happened. Various groups, including the American Jewish Congress, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Chicago Council against Racial and Religious Discrimination, and, qualifiedly, the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee joined in the sponsorship of a single ordinance, instead of battling each other in the manner that has been so prevalent in the past. It appears likely,

NEW STRENGTH WAS GIVEN TO THE FORCES working against the little Hitlers of America when the Illinois Appellate Court affirmed the conviction of Arthur W. Terminiello, Catholic priest of Birmingham, Alabama, on a (breach of peace) charge growing out of a rabble-rousing speech delivered by him at the Gerald L. K. Smith meeting held in Chicago more than a year ago. In a long and carefully worded opinion by Judge Michael Feinberg, Judge John M. O'Connor concurring, the court found that the meeting in question was a public one and that Terminiello's speech and conduct not only had a tendency to create a diversion leading to a breach, but, in fact, did create such diversion and breach of the peace. The court stated that his speech was an appeal to fury and an incitement to disorder and violence.

Judge Grover C. Niemeyer dissented from the majority opinion on the grounds that the Terminiello meeting was not a public one, and that, "in the absence of a statute in Illinois, the anti-New Deal, anti-communist and anti-Jewish parts of Terminiello's speech did not render him liable to conviction. . . ."

Because of the importance of the issues involved, an attempt will probably be made to appeal the case to the Illinois Supreme Court (from which it was transferred earlier to the Appellate Court) and even to the United States Supreme Court. One may expect the Corporation Counsel's office, under its new and liberal head, Mr. Benjamin S. Adamowski, to handle the matter as ably as under the retired Corporation Counsel, Barnet Hodes. The case was remarkable, among other reasons, for the persistence and skill of the City's attorneys in trying the

matter in the lower court and handling the appeal. A. A. Pantelis, a native of Greece, Harry A. Iseberg and J. Herzl Segal, were the assistants in charge of the matter.

The case had an educational influence on the various attorneys involved. From day to day they gained new understanding of the clash between the constitutional guarantees and the blight of prejudice. Mr. Pantelis, in particular, learned anew that the Hellenic spirit includes vigilance against those who would pervert it.

Incidentally, Albert Dilling, who is the ex-husband of Elizabeth Dilling, a local hate-monger, has finally joined the majority in questioning the motives and methods of Gerald L. K. Smith. This Johnny-come-lately now declares that Smith is a very bad man who has done him out of fees and is working a game for his own aggrandizement. Mr. Dilling shows no other signs, however, of giving up his own particular brand of Jew-baiting.

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FOR SOME YEARS, IN CHICAGO, THERE HAS been in daily operation an organization which some people look upon as almost revolutionary in its implications. The Back-of-the-Yards Neighborhood Council was created by Bishop Bernard J. Sheil and others, who believe in the motto: "We the people will work out our own destiny." It is a coordinating group embracing 186 member organizations, centered in the run-down area to the southwest of the Chicago Stock Yards. Among the members are a business association, a Catholic day nursery, most of the Catholic Parishes of the region, a Greek Orthodox Church, a Lutheran Church, the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union and the rival AFL Union, several athletic clubs, and other groups notable only for the variety of their membership. The Council's budget is raised in part by a contribution from the Chicago Community Fund and the remainder through

street carnivals, dances, and such popular devices. The Council does not attempt to solve problems by running away from them. It does not hesitate to intervene in behalf of the people in strike situations, in controversies with political organizations, and in other situations affecting the lives of the people of the community. Lately, there has been a dramatic demonstration of the power of the Council on a national scale. Senator C. Wayland (Curly) Brooks showed his devotion to the people of Illinois by seeking to cut the federal appropriation for the school lunch program. Joseph Meegan, executive secretary for the Back-of-the-Yards Council, rallied widespread support for the program and succeeded in preventing a disastrous cut. He is now engaged in securing support for cancer research in the area.

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AT A RECENT THREE DAY CONFERENCE IN Chicago, Serbians were urged to forget their past differences and unite to fight for Christian democracy. The All-Serbian Congress was called jointly by the Serbian Orthodox Diocese and the Serbian National Defense Council of America. Then, forgetting the plea for unity, speaker after speaker attacked the present government of Yugo-Slavia as communist dominated. Representative Fred Busbey told the conference that the present Yugo-Slavian Government is probably the most brutal in existence.

This writer is always depressed when those who talk of unity proceed to create disunity. Without pretending to know all of the ins and outs of the current situation, he suggests that real unity should include everyone, and certainly there should be no exclusion of the dominant group.

At the time of the Serbian Congress, 25,000 German-Americans of the city held an all-day festival, at which prominent public officials were present. Isolationist Senator Langer told the thousands that

were gathered at the meeting that Germany must be permitted to revive its economy. He said that if Germany is not helped, democracy all over Europe will be endangered. It is not recorded that anybody present urged that assistance be given to Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and certain other victims of German aggression.

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A FEW WEEKS AGO, I RECEIVED A SPECIAL bulletin of the Anshe Emet Congregation of Chicago, which pleased me more than almost anything of its kind I have seen in a long while. The Congregation recently held an all-day conference dealing with the many activities of this lively institution; and in the bulletin, the full report, running several pages, was published. Among the items considered by the conferees were the purpose of Synagogues, the Hebrew school program, the day school, Jewish education in general, youth groups, music activities, requisites for cantors, adult education, the Synagogue's competence in social issues, tradition, men's clubs, and a hundred other matters. The members of the congregation talked on equal footing with the Rabbi and his staff, and together they attempted to work out solutions for their common problems. Copies of this bulletin ought to be distributed widely, and the program itself ought to be emulated as often as possible. Real democracy starts with general participation in all phases of our group life: government, schools, churches, civic organizations.

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THE SVITHIOD SINGING CLUB, FAMOUS Chicago organization, composed of persons of Scandinavian birth or descent, recently visited Sweden for the first time in nineteen years. The society has been in existence sixty-five years and has served to give tone and inspiration to the Swedish community of Chicago. The Club

was received with enthusiasm everywhere in Sweden. Its tour included forty concerts. Press reviews compared the choir to the best Russian choirs. The program went beyond the singing of Swedish songs and included Negro spirituals as well. Everywhere, prejudice vanishes when beautiful voices are heard.

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AFTER MORE THAN A HALF CENTURY, HULL House continues to be the best polyglot settlement house in the middle-west. There, Italians, Jews, Greeks, Mexicans, Chinese, Poles, Irish, and Norwegians forget their national and racial animosities and try to merge in the great American melting pot. Russell Ballard, the head resident, carries on in the tradition of his great predecessors, Jane Addams and Charlotte Carr. During the summer the children of the area enjoy the opportunities of the 72 acre country club established for Hull House by one of Chicago's grand ladies, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen. If playing together does not make real democrats out of children, nothing will.

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A UNITARIAN FRIEND OF MINE MENTIONED casually that three out of every four Unitarian lawyers are members of the National Lawyers Guild. This is further evidence of the progressive spirit of this comparatively small but important Protestant denomination. The recent Western Unitarian Conference condemned racial discriminatory practices utterly and called for fair employment policies and for the passage of state laws prohibiting racial restrictive housing covenants. Of course, the delegates went on record for "an unsegregated church in an unsegregated society." The Conference reaffirmed traditional Unitarian opposition to the teaching of religion in public schools.

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THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE, the most vocal of the two defenders of the Irgun, now has a counterpart in the American Friends of Haganah. Max Swiren, prominent Chicago lawyer, seems to be the leader here in the formation of the new group, which, he says, has a two-fold purpose: the education of the American public as to the constructive activity of Palestine's "real underground," and the supporting of this underground with funds.

"We are neither a political nor a propaganda group," Swiren said. "Some of us are Zionists, some are not."

"We're simply interested in helping those European Jews who want to go to Palestine."

We hope that in the battle between Irgun and Haganah, the cause of the Jewish Homeland will not be lost.

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AS THIS COMMENTARY GOES TO PRESS, I AM in receipt of the report for the year 1946 of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, published under the title *Human Relations in Chicago*. Time does not permit an adequate review of this remarkable document. I urge all readers of the CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM to send for copies. Thomas H. Wright, executive director of the Mayor's Commission, has dispensed with the usual generalities in this report. He is concerned only with facts, facts, facts; and therein lies the great value of this report. Reading it, you will actually know what happened in Chicago last year in the various tension areas of employment, education, health and welfare, recreation, law and order, civil rights, and, above all, housing. This is a document for the social historian. More than that, it is a loud warning for every citizen.

The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, an almost fanatical love of justice, and the desire for personal independence—these are the features of the Jewish tradition which make me thank my stars that I belong to it.

Those who are raging today against the ideals of reason and individual liberty, and are trying to establish a spiritless state slavery by brute force, rightly see in us their irreconcilable foes. But so long as we remain devoted servants of truth, justice and liberty, we shall continue not merely to survive as the oldest of living people, but by creative work to bring forth, as heretofore, fruits which contribute to the ennoblement of the human race.

ALBERT EINSTEIN (1933)

NEW YORK NOTES

By VERO

THERE WAS quite a hustle and bustle during the summer at the headquarters of the National Jewish Welfare Board, 145 East 32nd Street. For a large staff of editors and researchers was putting the finishing touch to the manuscript of an important two-volume work, *American Jews in World War II*, scheduled to be published here by the end of the year. Thousands of volunteers in some 1,200 Jewish communities throughout the country furnished the NJWB with all available data of the war record of American Jews. Did you know that Jews constituted 3.5 per cent of the total armed forces, and that at least 11,000 of them were included in casualty lists? That no fewer than twenty-seven thousand Jewish men and women won awards?

I understand that it was impossible to secure *complete* data from all Jewish families and that, therefore, all figures are only approximate. Hence, there is reason to believe that the total of those in service, as well as the total of those who won medals or were killed in action, was much higher than the figures in the aforementioned work will indicate. Nevertheless, with its inevitable shortcomings, *American Jews in World War II* will be hailed as an invaluable source book to be used as a weapon of Truth whenever deceitful hate-mongers question American Jewry's contribution to this country's war effort.

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YOUR REPORTER learned that a memorial statue to commemorate the battle of the

Warsaw ghetto (and, implicitly, the extermination of six million Jews) will be placed on New York's Riverside Park near West 84th Street. The memorial will consist of a group of figures on a pedestal ten feet high and will be executed by Joe Davidson. Among the sponsors of the proposal are ex-Mayor La Guardia, the former Attorney General Thurman Arnold, the Senators Wagner and Mead, and the Congressmen Sabath and Celler.

Let us hope that the monument will be more impressive, as a work of art, than the countless stiff and uninspiring war memorials that can be found in hundreds of towns. For the more we learn about the Warsaw Ghetto battle, the more we feel that it was a unique chapter in the history of our people, nay, of mankind, and that the self-sacrifice of those Polish Jews was even more remarkable than the heroism of Leonidas and his Spartans who held the pass of Thermopylae until all were killed. For those Greeks were professional soldiers, whereas our unhappy brethren in Warsaw were untrained civilians. If you wish to learn a great deal about what happened at Warsaw in 1943, read *Blessed is the Match*, a new book by Marie Syrkin. From New York she traveled to Palestine in order to interview Jewish partisans who found refuge in the agricultural settlements. That book will teach you that our brethren in Europe did not die like cattle, led to the slaughter, but that many of them displayed an unusual courage in the face of death.

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COURAGE, though of a different kind, was one of the features of Herzl who, fifty years ago, founded the Zionist Movement. At the 50th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America some old-timers recalled how, in 1897, many distinguished Jews dismissed Herzl as a "madman." How victorious his ideas have become could be noted at the Convention: attended by some 2,000 delegates from all of the 48 states, it represented the largest constituency in the annals of the organization. Although Dr. Abba Hillel Silver resigned the presidency, it was clear to all of us that he would remain "the man behind the man behind the gun." In any event, his successor, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, had been picked by Silver himself. There were delegates who did not quite like Silver's hegemony (or dictatorship), and who regretted the "purge" of his opponents. One critic even went so far as to state, sarcastically, that the ZOA Convention was "the ideal one hundred percent American machine convention where the opposition is eliminated skilfully even before it can reach the platform, or convention floor, and where the steam roller moved with the smoothness and efficiency of a streamlined 1947 Cadillac model."

Yet even he could not help admiring Dr. Silver's exceptional rhetorical and histrionic talents. Nobody failed to applaud when Dr. Silver, in his lengthy speech at Carnegie Hall, solemnly declared:

Outside of the Yishuv, America today is the most important center of Jewish life and of Zionist activity. The destruction of European Jewry, the growth of the American Jewish community, and the role of the United States in the world today have brought this about. As our movement enters a great hour of decision, it can count upon the unswerving faithfulness, the courage and discipline of a well-organized, well-informed Zionist movement in the United States, re-inforced by overwhelming pro-Zionist sympathies of American Jewry.

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THAT SILVER did not exaggerate the extent of these "pro-Zionist sympathies" became clear to me when I joined the many thousands of New Yorkers who staged an unforgettable open-air mass demonstration in Madison Square Park to protest against the 'Exodus' incident. What struck me particularly was the fact that members of various Jewish organizations who, ordinarily, fight and slander one another, now appeared on a common platform to give vent to their indignation about the callous treatment of the "unauthorized" immigrants aboard the Palestine-bound *Exodus* 1947. Judging by the posters they carried I could see Revisionists mingle with Labor Zionists, friends of the Haganah and supporters of Irgun, leftists and religious groups. A solemn memorial service was held commemorating Lieutenant William Bernstein, an American sailor, and two other Jews who were killed on the *Exodus* when she attempted to land in Palestine.

Inevitably the keynote address was delivered by the indefatigable Dr. Silver who castigated our Government which is anxious to rebuild Nazi Germany but unwilling to do anything for the Jewish victims of Nazism, and Great Britain which supports monarchistic Greece and reactionary Turkey but shoots at penniless Jewish refugees:

"Days of trial are ahead of us," he warned his audience: "I call upon the Jew to stand firm in the face of tyranny, cruelty, and piracy. I suggest that we turn to our government and ask whether there is not also a Truman Doctrine which can be applied to the Jewish people of Palestine and whether there is not also a Marshall Plan for the beaten and broken victims of the last war."

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THAT THE 4,500 Jews aboard *Exodus* 1947 would have been welcomed in Palestine in a most hearty manner was clear to everyone who attended the exhibition

Palestine-Democracy at Work, opened at the Museum of Science and Industry. Palestine needs workers and water. One of the key displays of the imposing show was an illuminated model of the Jordan Valley Authority. When the gigantic scheme of the JVA will be fully realized, the visitors learned, the Jordan waters will be used to irrigate two and a half million dhumans, or 600,000 acres, of now arid land, and the country will be able to accommodate and feed nearly 4 million people.

Another striking exhibit was the scale model of the Hebrew University and Hadassah Town. A businessman's eyes were likely to be more attracted by the products of Palestine's soil and skilled labor, from nicely-packed chocolate to modern costume jewelry, from Shemen Olive Oil to women's wear rivalling that seen on Fifth Avenue.

That Palestine is also a cultural center was proved by the exhibits showing Hebrew self-government, schools, newspapers, theaters, and concert halls. To me, one of the most striking sections of the show was the one devoted to Palestine's living art. Gouaches by Mané-Katz, water colors by Elias Newman, etchings by Jacob Steinhardt, showed the characteristics of the land and the people, of the hills and the ocean, the modern villages and the ancient cities, as seen through the creative eyes of artists.

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ON PALESTINE Jews have proved to be excellent farmers. The importance of turning American Jews to agriculture was emphasized in the important agreement recently signed for the Jewish War Veterans by Col. Charles I. Schottland, National Executive Director, and Dr. Gabriel Davidson acting for the Jewish Agricultural Society. Under the agreement the two organizations will pool their service resources to see the farm-bent veteran through from the initial appraisal

of agricultural property to the final harvesting of his first crop.

Down at the JAS Offices at 386 Fourth Avenue hope was expressed that an increasing number of ex-GIs will turn to the land to become successful farmers. I was told regretfully, that, of the 500 veterans—among them some non-Jews referred by Christian agencies—who have come to the Society's offices, only about 10% have been settled on the land so far; but there is good reason to believe that, with the number of applicants increasing, the rate of settlement will be speeded.

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TURNING TO THE cultural scene, I should like to point out that two eminent Jewish musicians were the recipients this year of the awards of the Music Critics Circle of New York in the fields of orchestral and chamber music, respectively. One of them, Aaron Copland, is a 47-year-old Brooklynite. His Third Symphony, introduced by the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky last November in Carnegie Hall, was voted the work of an American composer considered exceptional among the orchestral compositions heard during this past season. The award in chamber music went to the nestor of Jewish music, Geneva-born Ernest Bloch, for his Quartet No. 2. Here I cannot resist from quoting Bloch who once expressed himself on the subject of Jewish music as follows:

"I hold that it is of first importance to write good, genuine music—my own music. It is the Jewish soul that interests me, the complex, glowing, agitated soul that I feel vibrating throughout the Bible . . . It is this that I endeavor to hear in myself, and to translate into music: the sacred emotion of the race that slumbers far down in our soul. "And yet Bloch is far from being a chauvinist, for he always declared that he considered his music," though intensely Jewish in roots," to be "a gift of Israel to the whole of mankind."

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MUSIC, too, is the subject of the next item, but music that was marred by anti-Semitism. Fellow-New Yorkers who, during the summer, visited the Berkshire Hills to attend the annual music festivals, came home burning with indignation. It was not directed against the excellent musicians who performed there, but against some of the hotel owners in that region. If, for instance, Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, or Mahler were alive and wished to attend the Music Festival, they would be barred from more than half of the fifty hotels and inns listed in the Vacation Guide of the Berkshire Hills Conference. Unless Copland and Bloch are lucky enough to find accommodations in the "non-restricted" hotels, they will have to find rooms in Jewish resorts anywhere from ten to thirty miles from the site of the festival, and to commute to it, as it were, daily. Of course, if they consider this too uncomfortable, they can always sleep in their cars.

Is this America—or is this Nazi Germany? What is the Berkshire Hills Conference (which functions as a Chamber of Commerce) willing to do to put an end to this nuisance?

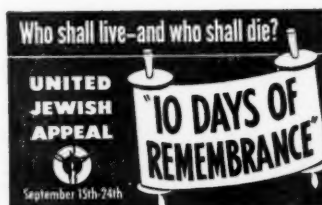
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THESE HOTEL OWNERS could learn from *Gentleman's Agreement* and *Focus* (provided they read books) how anti-Semitism starts with the "innocuous" restrictions of clientele and gradually increases until it becomes a fire that can't be extinguished easily. For that matter I am positive that they won't show *Cross Fire* in the local movie theatres in the Berkshire Hills. But many New Yorkers have seen it already, and some Gentiles will start wondering whether that thing, called "Anti-Semitism," isn't rather dangerous for everyone involved. *Cross Fire*, now playing to packed houses at the Rivoli Theatre is, at last, a "different" film. It is a movie in which a man is killed because he is a Jew . . . and the anti-Semitic

killer is portrayed as a defeatist with a warped mind . . . and the detective as an Irishman who remembers that his own grandfather had perished in an anti-Irish riot . . . all this would have been "taboo" at Hollywood only a short while ago. Do the movie magnates on the West Coast begin to realize what a powerful weapon the film is, and that they can use it to battle intolerance and ignorance without losing money?

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ANTI-SEMITISM and Jim-Crowism are merely two different aspects of the same problem—the question how to give life to the word that "all men are created equal." Are Negroes human beings? If so, what right has the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to exclude Negroes from the new buildings it is renting out to New Yorkers—the so-called Stuyvesant Town Housing Project? Recently a few Negro Veterans who sought apartments there and were turned away from the above-mentioned Company, asked more or less the same question when they presented their case to a Court. Justice Benvenga who failed to decide in their favor, is not necessarily an unenlightened individual, yet he is too formalistic about certain matters. Dismissing the case, the Judge observed "it may well be that, from a sociological point of view, a policy of exclusion and discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or religion is not only undesirable but unwise." So far, so good. But he went on to say that "the wisdom of the policy is not for the courts. That was and is a matter for the Legislature."



WASHINGTON NOTES

By MURRAY FRANK

IN OUR LAST ISSUE of the "Notes", written as long ago as May, 1947, we posed the following question: "Has the U.S. Government already formulated its Palestine policy?" That question was widely discussed in Washington during the summer months and is still a matter of conjecture as these lines are written. By now, however, it is fairly evident that the State Department will take no stand on the Palestine question until the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine reports to the UN General Assembly in September on its investigations in the Holy Land during June and July.

What this country's stand will be at the September session is again anyone's guess, but people in the know expect it will be the same "neutrality" position as that taken at the special UN session last spring. At any rate, should the U.S. change its present course and adopt a more favorable attitude toward the Jewish viewpoint, it will not only be a welcome act but also one of great historic significance because by now it is clear that the U.S. attitude will determine the future of Palestine. Without the support of the U.S., whose word is most influential in the United Nations, it is difficult to see how a peaceful solution can be obtained in the little strife-torn country.

One thing, however, seems to be certain and that is: once a decision is reached by the United Nations, this country will abide by that decision, regardless of whom or how much it will hurt. In fact, this correspondent has heard from a highly authoritative source that should

the decision of the United Nations prove to be such that Britain will, for one reason or another, refuse to abide by that decision, the U.S. will insist that Britain carry out the UN recommendations. The main reason—though not the only one—why this country will insist on adherence is that Britain's refusal to do so may prove to be a fatal blow to the UN since it would leave that body in a helpless and powerless position as just another "international debating society."

In the meantime, there have been persistent rumors here that the State Department has made informal inquiries of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as to the exact Jewish position regarding a solution of the Palestine problem. It seems our officials are a bit confused as to the Jewish position at this time. About a year ago, the Agency's Executive Committee decided on partition of Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs. The Zionist Congress at Basle last December went on record for a Jewish state in all of Palestine. More recently, Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Agency's Executive Committee, expressed himself in favor of a Jewish state in the predominantly Jewish areas of Palestine and to continue the British mandate in the rest of the country. The State Department, therefore, wishes to know: 1) Whether the Jews want partition or not? 2) Whether they want it now or hold out for bigger stakes in the future? 3) If they want it now—what is the minimum they will take?

On the basis of the foregoing, as well as other current developments, several

deductions may be assumed regarding this country's stand on Palestine at the present time and in the near future. First, it is quite clear that U.S. officials are confused on the issue and much of this confusion is due to the wavering Jewish policy of the past year. Second, all reports of recent weeks that this country has not yet determined its final stand on Palestine are true; it is waiting until the UN session in September, but in the meantime "feelers" are going out to the Jews—and possibly others, too—to obtain their views and reactions. Third, and most important deduction, the State Department desires to obtain a solution of the Palestine question which it can support and which will also be acceptable to the Jews; the final decision will, however, depend on how well this solution fits into the over-all policy toward Russia, a policy which emphasizes the need for Arab friendship. If the solution acceptable to the Jews fits in with the over-all policy—well and good; if it does not, that solution will be thrown overboard.

While the present maneuvers may be described as preliminary skirmishes, the time to look for definitive changes and major decisions on the part of the United States will be when the UN Committee on Palestine submits its report in September. If anyone still doubts it, we reiterate: The United Nations solution of the problem will depend upon the position taken by the United States!



JEWISH INTEREST in education has always been universally acknowledged. Jewish youth has always been encouraged to seek higher education, whether for economic reasons or for education's sake as such. Some years ago—in 1935, to be exact—the B'nai B'rith Hillel Research Bureau (now known as B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Bureau) conducted a census on Jewish college students and came up with the following figures: in

1511 colleges and universities throughout the United States and Canada there were enrolled a total of 1,192,662 students, of whom 104,906 were Jewish. Thus, the proportion of Jewish students was 8.8 percent of the total.

In October 1946, the Bureau undertook a new census along the same lines. From preliminary figures reported recently, we gather the following comparative figures: in 1565 colleges and universities there were enrolled at the beginning of the academic year 1946-47 a total of 1,976,606 students, of whom 161,369 were Jewish. While the number of Jewish students increased during the 11-year period by more than 50 percent, its proportion to the total number of students is now 8.2 percent, or a decrease of .6 of a percent. Although the decline is very small, it indicates a theoretical decrease of about 7500 Jewish students had the proportion remained the same as in 1935.

This, in no way, is alarming. The decline does not indicate a trend, but is primarily due to one major factor—the enactment on the part of Congress of the so-called GI Bill of Rights was an effective instrument in stimulating the increased enrollment of non-Jewish students to a greater degree than ever before. Even at its somewhat decreased proportion Jewish students attend colleges and universities at a rate twice the percentage of the Jews in the total population. Jews comprise about four percent of the population in the United States.

The census also discloses interesting figures pertaining to the regional and sex distribution among Jewish students. The Jewish student population was divided as follows: men—66.5 percent; women—33.5 percent. With the exception of .1 percent in favor of the men, the percentages are the same as those of 1935. As for the total student population, Jews and non-Jews, the percentages are: men—68.1; women—31.9. In 1935, men represented 57.2 percent of the total enrollment and women

42.8 percent. It is quite obvious that veteran preference has cut down the proportion of women students in the total enrollment.

Although the proportion of Jewish students to the total enrollment has shown a minor decline since 1935, significant changes are recorded for various regions. Declines took place in the following regions: New England, from 9.8 percent in 1935 to 7.8 in 1946; Canada, from 4.5 to 4.2; East North Central states, from 6.3 to 6.0; New York City, from 49.6 to 47.9; East South Central states, from 1.6 to 1.2. Increases are recorded in the following regions: Pacific region, from 3.4 to 4.4; Middle Atlantic states (excluding New York City), from 9.6 to 10.4; South Atlantic, from 4.0 to 4.3; West North Central states, from 2.5 to 2.6. Percentages in the West South Central states and Mountain states have remained the same—1.5 and 1.2, respectively.

While the preliminary report does not indicate it, a shift is evident from the East to the Mid-West and Pacific coast regions. This shift may be due to two main factors: a steady shifting of Jewish population from the East and a greater degree of discrimination against Jewish students in Eastern universities. The complete report is expected to be issued later this year and will also provide statistics on Jewish veterans-students, enrollment in evening schools, graduate students and the various fields of study Jewish students pursue. This last phase should be extremely interesting.



THIS CORRESPONDENT has received (too late for inclusion in our last Notes) a detailed report on the survey conducted by the National Jewish Welfare Board during the past year on the aims, services, programs, and relationships of the JWB to the Jewish community centers, Jewish schools and synagogues, and to other national Jewish organizations. The report

on this survey was presented at JWB's annual meeting in Pittsburgh early in the summer. Although out of our immediate bailiwick, we found this survey of such interest and importance in connection with the future of the American Jewish Community that we cannot overlook certain of its recommendations and possible effects.

The survey, which was prepared by a commission of 35 outstanding Jewish educators and communal leaders headed by the noted historian Prof. Oscar I. Janowsky, contains 21 recommendations whose implications will be far-reaching for the Jewish Centers and the Jewish community in this country as a whole. The heart of the survey is the first recommendation, which is comprised of four "articles of faith". Briefly, they are as follows:

1. Although the American Jew is part and parcel of America and is identified with every phase of American life, he also shares certain unique aspects which concern his group. Expression for his specialized Jewish needs is found in the Jewish Center, one of the agencies with which he identifies himself.
2. The program of the Jewish Center should devote primary attention to Jewish content and all its activities should be permeated by the spiritual-cultural factors which constitute the Jewish way of life.
3. Membership and participation in the Jewish Center is to be open to all members of the local community without distinction as to race, color, or creed, but it is to be understood that the Center is maintained for the specialized needs of the Jews and primary emphasis is to be on Jewish content.
4. The Center's functions include: service as an agency of Jewish identification and integration, provision for a dynamic and flexible program of recreation and informal education, and assistance in the integration of the Jewish group and the

Jewish individual into the total American community.

Other recommendations deal with the spiritual, educational, communal, organizational, and cultural activities of the JWB, such as: the establishment of a Jewish Museum to embrace all relevant aspects of American Jewish life; the creation of a Jewish Culture Council to coordinate cultural efforts and promote interest in Jewish history, literature, the fine arts, crafts, dramatics, etc.; extension of the activities of the Jewish Book and Music Councils; closer relationship with Jewish educational agencies, religious bodies, and community organizations.

All of this means that the JWB is gradually emerging from the status of a service agency into a central body in the American Jewish community and a major instrument in the growth and development of this same community along the path of greater cultural activity and Jewish content in life. All of this deserves the support of the Jewish community at large without which the success of this program will not be possible.



IN THE CLOSING DAYS of its last session, Congress voted the necessary appropriations to publish the study "Fascism in Action", prepared by a staff of 13 experts of the Library of Congress. It was not an easy task to obtain congressional assent for publication of the study. Listening to the two-hour debate which preceded the final vote on the resolution, one would hardly think that it is only a short two years since Fascism in Europe and in the Far East had been subdued at such terrific human cost and the destruction of numerous cities and entire countries. It is hard to believe that people would forget so easily and would bitterly oppose the publication of a book exposing Fascism because the book contains derogatory remarks against Spanish Dictator Franco or

because it might alienate our newly-won friends in Germany and Japan!

Just to prove how bitter was the fight on the floor of Congress we will merely mention the fact that the resolution was finally passed by a vote of 124 to 115, a majority of only nine votes! That, however, tells only part of the story. The fact is that the study was undertaken by the Library of Congress, at the request of Rep. Wright Patman (D., Tex.), about a year ago. Shortly after Congress began its session last January, Patman introduced a resolution to have the document printed, but it was not until July that action was taken by Congress on the resolution. And when it finally approved printing of the document, it appropriated enough money for only 1500 copies! In this connection, it is worth mentioning that a companion study entitled "Communism in Action," prepared by the same group of experts, was published many months ago in some 700,000 copies of which about a half million have already been distributed. If we are fighting both of these ideologies as subversive and un-American, as we should, why not make an effort to discredit and eradicate the one as the other?

I think the reader will find it extremely interesting to know what some of our Congressmen who opposed publication of the document on Fascism had to say. Let me just quote a few samples taken from an unimpeachable source, the *Congressional Record* of July 8, page 8640 and on:

Rep. John B. Williams, Mississippi Democrat—"The only thing we will be doing in printing this book, in my opinion, will be to draw a red herring across the trail of the Communist in America. In other words, I think we will confuse the issue on the Communists which do constitute a threat to our American form of Government and really enter on a witch hunt after some fictitious Fascists who proponents of this measure would have you believe are abroad in our country ...

This Fascist threat to our form of government is all in the imagination . . ."

Rep. James G. Fulton, Pennsylvania Republican—"Let me say to the gentleman (referring to Rep. Jacob Javits of New York who spoke in favor of the resolution) that certainly American democracy has had six or seven years of intensive practice and indoctrination on the evils of fascism. The gentleman and I were participants in the last war to stop fascism. I thought that when we had finished this war we were through with fascism. Now, my point is, I do not want to go into ancient history and further expense to publish ancient history books here."

Rep. Fred E. Busbey, Illinois Republican—"I have to admit that I was the member of the committee that raised the objection to the inaccuracies and suggested the changes that should be made in the document (The "inaccuracies" to which Busbey refers here are some uncomplimentary remarks about Franco) . . . Is it right to use the time of these highly paid specialists to write books because one individual requests it, when their time should be used in preparing data for the various committees . . . on important legislation pending before Congress?"

Such is the trend of thinking of our representatives. Worried about petty expenditures for enlightenment of the people, but ready to spend billions for war purposes. Naive in their belief that Fascism and Nazism died with Hitler and Mussolini. Seeing Communists behind every bush and around every corner, while dismissing the ultra-nationalist, reactionary, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and anti-alien groups as "fictitious Fascists." If this is not confusion, then what is?

ton some weeks ago, lies in the fact that he pointed to the contrast between American principles and American practice. Addressing some 5000 spectators, who gathered at the Lincoln Memorial for the occasion, President Truman made this indictment:

Many of our people still suffer the indignity of insult, the harrowing fear of intimidation, and, I regret to say, the threat of physical injury and mob violence. The prejudice and intolerance in which these evils are rooted still exist. The conscience of our Nation, and the legal machinery which enforces it, have not yet secured to each citizen full freedom from fear.

This is, indeed, a strong indictment for which it is difficult to find an answer or explanation. Some try to explain it away as an aftermath of the war, but it does not remove the uneasiness at home nor the loss of prestige abroad. As if to make the contrast between American principles and actual performance clearer, President Truman added:

Our immediate task is to remove the last remnants of the barriers which stand between millions of our citizens and their birthright. There is no justifiable reason for discrimination because of ancestry, or religion, or race, or color . . . We can no longer afford the luxury of a leisurely attack upon prejudice and discrimination. There is much that state and local governments can do in providing positive safeguards for civil rights. But we cannot, any longer, await the growth of a will to action in the slowest state or the most backward community. Our national government must show the way.

The machinery of the government will in itself not be sufficient to eradicate the prejudice and bigotry which the President deplored. We must also look to community-wide efforts and, above all, to our own consciences. It is high time for Americans of all walks of life to realize that the denial of equal protection to any minority imperils justice for all.

THE IMPORTANCE of President Truman's address at the annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held in Washing-

ON SEPTEMBER 17, the so-called "Freedom Train," sponsored by Attorney General Tom Clark and a group of public-spirited citizens organized as the

American Heritage Foundation, will start on its cross-country tour to visit 300 communities in all the 48 states of the Union. Aboard it will be the most priceless treasures of American freedom which will be exhibited to all who care to see them. Among the sacred documents will be the Declaration of Independence, an early draft of the U.S. Constitution with corrections in Washington's handwriting, the Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation and similar documents, as well as important manuscripts, broadsides, books, etc.


The date of September 17 was chosen because it is the 160th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. The "Freedom Train" will start out from

Philadelphia, the place where the Constitution was signed. The tour will last a year and the visit of the "Freedom Train" in each community will be a "re-dedication to American principles." At a gathering recently at the White House, Clark told about 150 prominent industrial, civic, fraternal, religious, and veteran leaders that the Justice Department is in possession of "shocking evidence" of violations of civil liberty and of the activities of professional bigots. By means of the "Freedom Train" he hopes to bring about a great "crusade for re-awakening faith in America in the hearts of our people."

This is a project well worth the support and participation of all Americans.


Who shall live—and who shall die?

**UNITED
JEWISH
APPEAL**



September 15th-24th

**"10 DAYS OF
REMEMBRANCE"**





Erotic Dance

DAVID BEKKER

BOOKS

Report from Spain, by Emmet John Hughes. New York. Henry Holt & Co. 323 pp. 1947. \$3.50.

This is a valuable book, well informed, well written and dealing with a subject of extreme importance not only to Spain itself, but to the foreign policy of the United States in its effort to extend the democratic principles of politics in opposition to what it considers their gravest enemy—communist theory and practice. For it is Mr. Hughes's argument in part that the very policy or policies by which we have sought to combat the spread of Communism in Spain have, instead, fostered its growth. Not the least part in this encouragement of Communism is our present denunciation of Franco, our expressions of our disapproval of him and his ways, while we at the same time do nothing practical to force his abdication. It is well proved by the experiences of years that the moral disapproval of foreigners has not the slightest influence upon Franco and merely serves to unite the forces which back him in their stronger support of his regime, for with his fall they fear that they, too, would be destroyed.

Mr. Hughes's analysis of these forces is exceedingly illuminating. They are three: the falangists, the army, and the Spanish Catholic hierarchy. Each distrusting the other two they yet unite in support of the one man who has proved himself sufficiently wily to play them off one against another. Franco is hated and distrusted by the greater part of the Spanish populace and yet through his clever manipulation of political forces he remains in power. Mr. Hughes explains this anomalous situation. It is not simple, as his analysis reveals, nor is Franco the stupid fat little absurdity that he appears to be to western eyes. We would do better, as Mr. Hughes suggests, to understand him and the complex of forces which explains his tenure of power, rather than futilely to rail at him.

To non-Catholic eyes the support of Franco by the Spanish Church hierarchy is most difficult to reconcile with the Spanish people's unshakable loyalty to their faith. The Spanish bishops, Mr. Hughes says flatly, will support anyone in power who will secure them in their prerogatives and retention of their vast properties. Yet Mr. Hughes is himself a good Catholic, though of liberal political views. It is a common saying in Spain that "money is a good catholic." Mr. Hughes remarks, "The phrase aptly states the conviction of the Spanish people that their church has become a constant accomplice of none but the rich." They nevertheless remain ardent in the faith. "Perhaps it may be guessed," says Mr. Hughes, "that the resolute devotion of the men and women partakes more than a little of the spirit of Boccaccio's Jew of the fourteenth century. He had traveled all the way from Paris to Rome to see personally the life and men of the center of Christendom. He returned at length to his Christian friend in Paris who was so eager to bring about his conversion. He related to his friend that so great and shocking was the decadence of the clergy, he was prepared to enter the church. For only a divinely-inspired faith could continue to survive and prosper under such leadership."

This is an anecdote of the fourteenth century. A modern heretic, with whatever justice will, I believe, simply judge church and faith alike by their works. Of these works the present form of catechism as taught Spanish youth is sufficient illustration. Here are bits of it as cited by Mr. Hughes:

Q. What are the freedoms which liberalism defends?

A. Freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, and freedom of the press.

Q. What does freedom of the press mean?

A. The right to print and publish without previous censorship all kinds of opin-

ions, however absurd and corrupting they may be.

Q. Must the government suppress this freedom by means of censorship?

A. Obviously, yes.

Q. Why?

A. Because it must prevent the deception, and calumny and corruption of its subjects, which harm the general good.

Q. Are there other pernicious freedoms?

A. Yes. Freedom of education, freedom of propaganda, and freedom of assembly.

Q. Why are these freedoms pernicious?

A. Because they serve to teach error, propagate vice, and plot against the church.

But enough. The citations illustrate sufficiently the medieval mind of the Catholic church in Spain. Mr. Hughes condemns it unsparingly. What, we ask, has the Vatican to say to all this? Does it approve or disapprove? And if the latter, is it powerless to act? Of this Mr. Hughes says nothing.

No less dark than this corruption of Spanish youth by the agency which should best guide and enlighten it are the penal practices of the state, which, on hearsay or suspicion, convicts all whom it deems its enemies, to torture, vile imprisonment, and summary execution. Little in the records of the Middle Ages or the black book of Hitler can surpass these outrages.

Such is Spain today as Mr. Hughes depicts it soberly and convincingly. It is the task of the democracies to apply such pressures as will free the Spanish people to determine their own form of government. We do not do so partly because we do not know properly how to implement our good intent and partly because we are dissuaded by the hob-goblin of Communism. Mr. Hughes in his conclusion says much that I should like to quote. I can give but a part:

Certainly, this democracy faces no challenge so grave as that of Communism. Certainly the Western democratic nations confront no issue as decisive as their relations with Soviet Russia. But if the democracies' preoccupation with these challenges (instead of a clean resolve to fulfill democracy's promise for all peoples) becomes an hypnotic fascination that merely freezes them into immobility, then neither challenge can be

met. If the world vision of the democratic nations becomes so narrowed that it can focus only upon that one-sixth of the globe's surface under Russian dominion, and so intense that it cannot perceive and develop clean democratic policies and practices in the rest of the world, then the remaining five-sixths of the world will be lost to the Western democracies, not by defeat, but by default.

Democracy's battle for existence is never completely won. It advances to the realization that the durability of a people's peace depends upon all people's understanding of its terms and their faith in its promises. It comes to the realization that, in this age of profoundest revolution, the United States can serve neither the world nor itself by transforming itself (a nation born of revolution) from a young daring and progressive country, into a citadel or an arsenal for the frightened and besieged forces of reaction and despair.

CARL GRABO

The Jewish People: Past and Present.
Volume 1. Jewish Encyclopedic Handbooks. Central Yiddish Culture Organization (CYCO). N. Y., 1946. 430 pp. \$10.00.

The present volume is a new venture in Jewish bookmaking in this country. It is not an Encyclopedia, but it is based principally on the volumes *YIDN*, issued in the years 1939-1942 as an integral part of the *General Encyclopedia* which appeared in the Yiddish language. It is a distinguished contribution of Yiddish scholarship to the growing body of scholarly Jewish literature in the English language. The Board of Editors comes entirely from the group around the Yivo (Yiddish Scientific Institute), but the Contributors are European, American, and Palestinian scholars of Central European as well as East European descent. The Editorial Advisory Board consists of Prof. Salo W. Baron, Prof. Mordecai M. Kaplan, Prof. Jacob R. Marcus, Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof, and Dr. A. L. Sachar. No doubt, all this adds up to an interesting combination.

It should be noted that this is only the first volume of a series of three Encyclopedic Handbooks. It contains monographs of varying length on race theory and anthropology, archaeology, Jewish history in antiquity, in the middle ages and in modern times, Jewish historiography, the origin and development of the Jewish religion, Jewish religious philosophy, Jewish mysticism and Kabbala, Messianic Movements, the Jewish population of the

world, Jewish migration, and the economic and social development of the Jewish people. Numerous well reproduced illustrations, some of them colored, are mingled with the text. The publishers announce in the preface that the subsequent two volumes will comprise monographs and articles on the demography of the Jews, the development and evolution of social and national movements, the history of Jewish literature, anti-Semitism, Jewish art, theater, languages, and related topics.

Naturally, no one single reviewer can pass adequate judgment on all the articles which appear in a handbook such as this. This reviewer is a social scientist, with a fair knowledge of Jewish history and historiography and a lively interest in the many-sided manifestations of Jewish religious thought. Nonetheless, I have only glanced over such articles as H. F. Albright's "Israel in the Framework of the Ancient East" and E. L. Sukenik's "History of Jewish Archaeology," feeling that I would not be able to say much of value about them. The opening articles on race theory and the Anthropology of the Jewish people, however, I checked carefully. They deal with a subject matter which, although extraneous to traditional Jewish interest, have been in the forefront of the contemporary discussion. They contain a clear and concise statement. The concluding articles on social and economic problems and the articles which deal with modern Jewish history can perhaps, not be given full justice at this time, since complementary articles are still to appear in the subsequent volumes. Again the material is clearly presented, but a number of doubts come to mind. The rather homogeneous aspect of Jewish life in the middle ages dissolves into a great many national sub-histories in modern times so that it becomes increasingly difficult to deal with them all in their proper perspective within the framework of a few articles. This makes some additional treatment necessary which would develop sociological concepts of Jewish history for purposes of integration. For the same reason, a merely statistical treatment of the subject matter does not suffice. We need to know not merely the facts of migration but also their significance. The social-psychological aspect of Jewish existence should not be omitted from con-

sideration. Finally, one misses entirely a discussion of the central theme of Jewish life among the peoples of the world, namely that of Jewish-Gentile relations, both in this volume and in the announcement concerning the subsequent volumes.

Among one of the articles in the first volume, I would give the palm to the article on "Jewish Mysticism and Kabbala" and the two articles on Messianic Movements, by Gershom G. Scholem and A. Steinberg respectively. They deal with a tremendously complex subject matter with a clarity and precision which is admirable. Besides, Scholem's last article in particular deals with spiritual-historical material in a sociological way and thus connects both branches of writing about things Jewish most intriguingly. We gain there an insight into the complex process of transformation which concluded the middle ages and ushers in the period of Jewish history in which we live.

It is a little difficult to visualize the sort of reader to whom these handbooks should appeal. They cannot take the place of a popular encyclopedia because one cannot simply "look up" an item which comes to mind. One has to find what one is interested in while thumbing in one or another of the articles and this presupposes an ability which not even many of our college graduates have. It presupposes a general knowledge of Jewish history, literature, and problems which cannot be presupposed. At least, an introductory "Reader's Guide" would have been advisable.

On the other hand, the academic reader will find that the bibliography is insufficient for the purpose of further study. To be sure, sources are mentioned after almost every article, but in a rather haphazard fashion. It sometimes happens that an author or book is mentioned in the text but is omitted in the bibliography. Certainly statistical data should have been documented. But there is still time to add an annotated list of basic bibliographical and statistical sources, containing all those used by the authors of the articles which appear in the "handbooks," at the end of the third volume. For the publication of the handbooks is a most commendable enterprise and no effort should be spared to perfect it.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Five Chimneys: The story of Auschwitz. By Olga Lengyel. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company, Chicago. 213 pp. \$3.00.

"A few of my neighbors tried desperately to keep their papers—some their prayer books, or photographs. But the guards were eagle-eyed, they slashed out with the iron-tipped clubs or pulled their hair so hard that the unfortunate women shrieked and collapsed upon the ground."

"You won't need the identification papers or photos any more," cried the mockers.

The above depicts the first day's experiences of Olga Lengyel, the wife of an Hungarian doctor, upon entering the women's barracks of the Auschwitz concentration camp in May 1944. The women's camp contained over 30,000 prisoners.

Mrs. Lengyel, her husband, a doctor, their parents, and two sons were ordered to leave their home in Transylvania, packed into a freight train and dispatched with hundreds of other unfortunates to Auschwitz. The long trip to Poland, because of skillfully arranged murderous conditions of travel, resulted, in an appalling number of deaths en route. All of the author's relatives were exterminated shortly upon their arrival into Auschwitz.

Five Chimneys is a factual story of the routine of "life" in this most infamous of German slaughter houses. I recall reading little that compares for detailed reportage of sustained cruelty to human beings; Dostoevski's *The House of Death* is extremely mild in comparison. It far transcends, I believe, any known chronicle of bestial depravity and calculated terror.

Auschwitz bordered upon adjoining Birkenau, the place where the five chimneys darkened the sky day and night; below were the ovens into which were loaded Hitler's human offerings on the altar of race theory.

Periodically, twice or three times a week, "selections" took place in Auschwitz and several hundred slaves were picked for the pyre; the selectees were usually those whom camp life reduced to an unpardonable status: physical unfitness to perform hard labor in several of the war plants around the camp. Often of course it was the whim of the commander of Auschwitz or of his lackeys that sent countless men and women to the gas chambers. Above all however the killers were putting into execution a maniacal

desire to extirpate from the face of the earth "inferior" races. There also pressed constantly upon the Auschwitz butchers the command from Berlin to make room in the barracks for fresh transports of new arrival into the camp. The ovens were insatiable and Hitler's cannibals ranged far and wide over the continent of Europe for more fuel for the incinerators of Birkenau. And while it was Jews who were sought as choice morsels to make the chimneys belch forth none were exempt and none given mercy.

Disease, starvation, and privations competed successfully with the murder chambers of Birkenau to reduce the population of Auschwitz and death riders to the ovens often included dying prisoners who had to be assisted to their fate by their own executioners. Auschwitz boasted also of housing in its midst extensive "experimental" laboratories wherein particularly healthy specimens of humanity were tortured and violated to prove or disprove some fantastic nazi "scientific" theory.

... At the price of the lives of thousands of victims, German Science finally concluded that a human being can subsist in ice water, for just so many hours. It has also been established with precision how long it took for death to come after scaldings at different degrees of temperature.

Experiments were also made in diagnostics. Interesting cases were taken from the hospital and simply killed so that they could be dissected for the purpose of an autopsy! When several cases suffered from the same ailment, they might be given different treatments and, after a certain phase, be killed, so that conclusions might be drawn from the experiments. But most of the time a patient was merely killed, and no one dreamed of examining his body—there were too many dead in Auschwitz.

In this book there are also ghastly details of the manner in which "processing" of the unfortunate inmates sent to Birkenau took place. First told to undress they were given towels and soap and assured that they were led to a shower. The victims were instead packed into a large room, doors were closed, gas introduced into the chamber and shortly after the unconscious or dead victims were dragged into the ovens. A brigade of experts was always on hand to check the presence of precious gold in the teeth of corpses.

When the victorious Russians were within shelling distance of Auschwitz the commander in charge, the notorious Beast of Belsen, Joseph Kramer stepped up the industry of killing and sent an untold number of prisoners into Birkenau; records were burned and some slaughter houses destroyed in an effort "to conceal evidence" of Nazi misdeeds; enough, of course remained, to convict the Germans as the greatest criminals in human history.

Five Chimneys is a "must". All who read it owe it to civilization to mobilize themselves as agents of decency and sanity so that nothing told here occur again—not even in Germany.

BENJAMIN WEINTROUB

The Mind and Death of a Genius, by David Abrahamsen. Columbia University Press. 228 pp. \$3.00.

Hater and despiser of mankind, a Jew who was converted to Protestantism and became a ferocious anti-Semite, a precocious genius who wrote a brilliant if aberrant book called *Sex and Character*, Otto Weininger is the kind of personality that would attract the attention of a psychoanalyst. When he reached the age of twenty-three, Weininger ended his life. Why he did so, the elements in his character and family upbringing that precipitated the tragedy, the mental conflict that culminated in tragedy—that is the subject of Dr. Abrahamsen's discerning psychological study which is based not only on Weininger's posthumously published writings but also on new source material. It helps to explain, in the light of psychoanalysis, why Weininger developed as he did and the complications and crises that led him irresistibly to his death.

Weininger's first book, *Sex and Character*, has been a bone of contention ever since it appeared in 1903. Other works of his were brought out after his death and furnish further insight into his extraordinary character and mental processes. How account for this rare phoenix? His precocity and cultural attainments were evident at an early age. By the time he was eighteen he knew Latin and Greek and could speak English and French and Italian, not to mention Spanish and Norwegian. Dr. Abrahamsen attempts to show why Weininger could not adapt himself to his family. The father, a Jewish merchant, was strict and stern, a demanding

inflexible martinet with an aesthetic flair, a deep love of music. Though Weininger sympathized with his mother, he identified himself with his father, with whom he had much in common, and this generated a complex of ambivalent feeling. The result was that he led a double life, felt lonely, miserable, misunderstood, alienated, the genius who regards himself as above and apart from ordinary humanity. Constantly he felt the need to demonstrate his immeasurable superiority and went to extremes to do so. Throughout his tempestuous and troubled life he suffered from primary narcissism, and out of this there finally emerged a personality with ascetic-masochistic attitudes, struggling to subdue its "lower" animal (sexual) needs.

He lived in a Vienna that was hostile to Jews, virulently anti-Semitic, a hatred that later flamed forth in the psychopathic Hitler. As a psychologist he early insisted on the scientific value of the introspective method, but the central idea for his thesis in *Sex and Character* he derived indirectly from Freud. His idea was simply that each individual was a mixture of male and female elements in varying proportions, but he exalted masculinity at the expense of woman. Indeed, he reduced her to a very low state.

What determined his decision to abandon Judaism? The hostility against Jews in the Vienna of his day may have contributed to it. Besides, the familial home was not Jewish in any sense. In fact, the father, although he belonged to the Jewish religion, was actually anti-Semitic in attitude and it is doubtful if Weininger ever received any instruction in Jewish religion. On the same day that Weininger became *doctor philosophiae* he dramatically embraced the Protestant faith. But in the main his conversion was caused by his spiritual uprootedness, his lack of inner security and happiness. The change, however, did not help him in the least. He never achieved mental peace, his inner disturbance increased markedly till it finally reached pathological proportions. The anti-moral sexual impulses could not be kept down.

The Mind and Death of a Genius, though a brilliant, scholarly performance, makes depressing reading. It is not Dr. Abrahamsen's fault but the fault of his subject. Weininger's life marked a lamentable waste of genius, a steady deterioration of mind and character. Sex was his

obsession, woman his enemy, and when he could not resolve his inner conflict, overcome the demonic upthrust of his instinctual needs which were opposed to his ascetic moral imperatives, he found no way out but suicide. He was a schizophrenic, a miserably shut-in masochistic personality, with moments of megalomania and messianic complex. He believed in the importance of introspective psychology, but his tortured introspections led to his destruction. His masterpiece, *Sex and Character*, is militant, oracular, aggressive, lacking in humility, humor, and humanity. He was his own worst enemy, a victim of a consuming sense of guilt, haunted by terror which he could neither rationalize nor exorcise. He was crucified on the cross of sex, and not even the publication of *Sex and Character*, with its exaltation of the masculine, its pathological disparagement of woman, and its metaphysical hymn to genius, could liberate him, save him from his doom.

There can be no doubt that his sexual economy was badly unbalanced, even abnormal, and there is reason to suspect that he harbored homosexual inclinations, though much of this is speculative and inferential. His ego could only expand in an atmosphere of hatred toward sex. Sex had to be denied in order for his consciousness to grow and assert itself triumphantly. He could not fuse sex and morality, sex and genius, sex and human destiny. There was the shame, the sin, he had to expiate, and he did it by putting a bullet through his chest.

Dr. Abrahamsen points out that Weininger accords the Jewish people a place similar to that he assigned to women. Just as the most highly endowed woman is immeasurably beneath the most degraded man, so is Judaism at its best immeasurably beneath Christianity in its most degraded condition. As Dr. Abrahamsen says: "In Judaism he sees a spiritual movement, a psychic constitution, and he tries to prove its existence by anti-Semitic arguments. He says that everyone who has thought over the problem of woman and the problem of the Jew must be astonished to discover the extent to which Judaism is penetrated by femininity. As the soul is lacking in woman, so it is lacking in the Jew. For this reason, Zionism is without hope. The Jew, like the woman, has no ego. Both lack greatness. In them sexuality is always present;

woman and Jew are concerned with mating." There is thus a close connection between Weininger's misogyny and his anti-Semitism. In renouncing Judaism he was also renouncing his mother.

The last chapter, "Genius and Insanity," sets out to analyze the components of Weininger's abnormality, his hysteria followed by schizophrenia, all caused by the severe repression of his sexual life. He became absorbed in a system of symbolism more complex and universal than any devised by the mind of a Swedenborgian. Everything was translated into symbols: the good and the bad, the pure and the impure. His thinking was regressive. Weininger was convinced that he incarnated all evil, that he was at heart a criminal; destructive impulses rose in him and could not be controlled, until he developed a tormenting hatred of himself. And so the story draws to a close. His hatred extended not only to women but also to Jews. The aphorisms he composed on the last night of his life burn with furious hatred against Jews. Judaism was the root of evil. According to Weininger, the Jew, refusing to bear the burden of guilt, is "opposed to the will of God who wants evil." This hatred of Judaism and of Jews is, of course, a displacement of the murderous hatred directed against himself. His castration complex was responsible (according to Freudian theory) for this unconscious root of anti-Semitism, and it was so in Weininger's case. By denying Judaism he denied himself.

CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG

Conservative Judaism, An American Philosophy, by Robert Gordis. Behrman's Publishing House. New York. 1945. \$1.50.

Judaism, like the proverbial elephant to the blind scholars, has, of late, become a different phenomenon to different people, though it should be one and the same thing to all. Even to some scholars, in our case, Dr. Gordis, it seems that Judaism, or better said, "Conservative Judaism," has different meanings at different times. When Dr. Gordis writes from the *Young Israel Viewpoint*, Conservative Judaism and Orthodoxy meet and are almost identical. In the June, 1945, issue of the *Viewpoint*, Dr. Gordis claims:

It seems clear to at least one observer that this movement represents the right wing of modern traditional Judaism, the left wing of

which bears the name Conservative Judaism. Both movements accept the binding character of Jewish law. Both have made adjustments to the requirements of modern thought and contemporary life. The basic difference is that Conservative Judaism has explicitly recognized that age and growth are the law of life and hence the adjustment has been conscious and more consistent, while the "right wing" of traditional Judaism has done so unconsciously and has generally been more zealous in adhering to accepted forms.

However, in his book *Conservative Judaism, an American Philosophy*, which was published for the National Academy of Adult Jewish Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Dr. Gordis' definition of Judaism does not seem to agree with the spirit of the quotation above. Here he defines Judaism as "the evolving religious civilization of Jewish people," which is closely akin to reconstructionism.

The book contains eleven essays in which the author gives us a bird's eye view of Conservative Judaism of today, a glance backwards, and the sources of Conservative Judaism with its emerging pattern. The author then elaborates on the nature of Judaism and the character of the Jewish people according to the "Conservative" point of view. An entire chapter is devoted to the place of Israel and its Torah, a well written and analytic study, though somewhat sermonic and not sufficiently scientific. In the last two chapters, the author discusses the Jewish way of life and the outlook for the future. Appended are "A Guide for Study and Discussion" prepared by Rabbi Josiah Derby, and a Bibliography, implying more than is found in the text. And finally the prepared index lends color and scholarly veneer to the "august authority" of this "modest attempt."

It seems to this reviewer that it would have been preferable had Dr. Gordis stopped at the Discourse of the Fireside Discussion Group, or at least had he stopped at his more elaborate essay in his *The Jew Faces a New World*. In the present volume the definition of Conservative Judaism has the aroma of an official statement and document and is more than merely a point of view, because it carries the imprimatur of the National Academy. In this the author failed. For, when we get through reading *Conservative Judaism, an American Philosophy* we still grope in darkness as to what exactly Con-

servative Judaism is, in what manner it is American, and in what way we can apply the connotation "philosophy" to it.

The root of the difficulty, which leaves a vagueness in the reader's mind, may be attributed to the unfortunate use of the adjective "conservative" in relationship to Judaism as described by Dr. Gordis. Basically the term conservative means "disinclined to alteration;" whereas the author maintains that Conservative Judaism explicitly recognizes that change and growth is the law of life." Also to reduce and telescope all the aspects of Judaism in a 79 page text is quite an impossible task, even with the agile command of English and the fine literary style that Dr. Gordis wields.

Dr. Gordis speaks primarily of three major divisions of Judaism, namely, Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative, relegating Reconstructionist Judaism to one paragraph. Modern neo-orthodox Judaism, which usually goes under the title "Traditional," he does not mention at all. Nor does he touch on the manifold aspects of Jewish life which have no "religious" tinge, yet are part of American Judaism. He also fails to show concretely how Conservative Judaism recognizes change, or what it does about it. Then, again, to recognize change and even to do something about it does not necessarily imply a different type of Judaism. Hillel and Rabenu Gershom M'Or Hagoloh as well as Maimonides recognized change, and in some respects they legislated Jewish law accordingly, and yet they remained within the ranks of "orthodox" or "traditional" Judaism. The lenient practice evolved by Conservative Judaism in regard to dietary laws does not necessarily make it different from the lenient "Posekim." The use in the synagogue of organs and mixed choirs, does not necessarily make it a distinct entity. In Italy the orthodox synagogues use organs and in England they have mixed choirs.

There is great need in the American Jewish community of today to formulate a concrete and distinct definition of Judaism and a philosophy of it, which should be acceptable to the American Jew, and be cognizant of the many changes in man's knowledge of the world, scientifically and otherwise. This philosophy of Judaism must also be very conscious of the social, political, and economic changes that have taken place in the world during

the last half century. In accordance with this knowledge and these changes, it is necessary to recognize the need of change in Jewish legislation also. This does not mean to "permit" the "prohibited," but it does mean to legislate Jewish law in such a manner as to take care of contingencies of divorce, Agunah Halitzeh, and even dietary laws.

The present American Jewish community though predominantly of orthodox stock and definitely non-observant as far as ritual and custom, is yet neither orthodox nor reformed. It is looking for a happy medium, but does not find it in a more polished English Sermon or a more decorous service. The American Jew is seeking some concrete understanding of what Judaism should be to him and what norms he should establish. If he is not seeking it consciously, he should be given it. Conservative Judaism may be in the best position to do so. But thus far it has not succeeded in clarifying its stand and winning the confidence of the American Jewish community.

Z. HARRY GUTSTEIN

The Zionist Movement, by Israel Cohen. The Zionist Organization of America, New York. 1946. 400 pp. \$3.00.

Israel Cohen's book is a handy summary of the age-old relationship between the Jewish people and their homeland. The author takes us back to Roman days, during which time large numbers of Jews were already resident outside of Palestine. These individuals continued, however, to turn their eyes toward Jerusalem. By means of the powerful imagery resulting from their reading of the Bible, the Jews later substituted a "heavenly" Jerusalem for the loss they felt while in exile. Additional links which were forged between the Diaspora and the "Homeland" included a small Jewish community living in the Holy cities of Palestine and supported by world Jewry as well as constant reports from Jewish travelers and emissaries. When the masses of Jews tired of pogroms and perpetual insecurity, false Messiahs arose and by their offers to lead the people back to the Promised Land, succeeded in misleading large numbers of their trusting brethren. Cohen includes in his survey various attempts towards Jewish restoration which were made in modern times by Christians who

believed that this step was a necessary one before the Second Coming. Others had philanthropic motives, and some statesmen were not above using the attachment of the Jewish people to Palestine for their own self interest.

It is against this historical tapestry that Cohen weaves his story. We see how a new interest in Palestine started to grow during the last half of the nineteenth century. This finally culminated in the efforts of Theodore Herzl, who was responsible for giving Zionism a modern political form. The slow immigration of Jews into Palestine was interrupted by the first World War. In the unstable political situation engendered by the struggle, the Jews found themselves presented with new political opportunities. This resulted in the Balfour Declaration together with the subsequent ratification of this document as well as of the Mandate.

The era between the two world wars is carefully documented by Cohen. In retrospect we see that during this period the Jews succeeded in building what we now know as the "Yishuv"—a heady brew which is a composite of such disparate strands as the culture of the Arabian lands imported by the Yemenites and the civilization of western Europe brought by the immigrants from Germany and Austria. Together with a new technology we have witnessed the growth and evolution of an ever-expanding institutional structure. This includes the Jewish Agency (a semi-official organization directing the development), the Vaad Leumi (the National Council of Palestine), the Histadruth (the Federation of Jewish Labor), the Hebrew University (which in some respects corresponds to a national educational institution), as well as many others.

While this process of more or less peaceful penetration was going on, the rights and guarantees upon which the development was proceeding were gradually withering away. The reason for this apparent dilemma is not difficult to discover. Though Cohen does not state it specifically, he provides us with the raw material for an analysis. The 20's and 30's witnessed the gradual breakdown of efforts toward international cooperation and the rule of law between nations. This helped on the one hand to increase immigration into Palestine, for the Jews were the first sufferers from the rapid

political changes taking place. On the other hand, they found no international agency with sufficient power to support their claims—a result of this same anarchy. Cohen gives us a chronology of the commissions of inquiry, white papers, governmental regulations, and similar devices. He demonstrates that when the Jews finally won a victory as they did in 1939 at which time the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations disapproved of British actions, the triumph was fated to remain a paper victory.

The shortcomings of the author's description and analysis are mainly apparent in the closing chapters of his book. As a loyal Englishman he tells us of his disappointment with the new government:

Yet when they acquired the power to rescind it (the white paper), they continued to maintain it in all its rigor. This glaring contradiction between the professions and pledges made by members of the Labour Government when they were in opposition, and their attitude after coming into power, is a cynical commentary upon the reliability of politicians' promises.

The only manifest ground for continuing to apply this illegal document is the attitude of the Arab States, which have been encouraged by Britain to form a League, and which have jointly and repeatedly demanded that Palestine should be constituted an independent Arab State. The members of the British Cabinet were fully aware of this attitude when they urged that the Jews should have a state of their own; but now that the Arab States threaten, if Jewish requests are granted, to use the arms which they kept idle during the war, they apparently find discretion the better part of valour.

Cohen fails thereby to provide us with a consistent and scientifically defensible analysis of Britain's present position. To do this, it would be necessary to give a description of the type of Socialism represented by the present British leaders, the role of Russia in international affairs, the orientation of American foreign policy, and the function of Empire in the modern world. The author is typical of many of our people, for he is exceedingly well meaning but weak in sensing that our difficulties are due not to the weaknesses of men but rather to the inadequacies of the social system.

In his estimate of present Zionist realities, Cohen takes the position of the present Zionist leadership. He does not analyze objections to their position which have been forthcoming both from the right and from the left. More specifically,

the author tells us little of the strong criticism, particularly in Palestine, to the Biltmore program adopted in 1942 which called for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. This was done at a time when the entire stress might well have been on future immigration and not on political adventurism. This lesson was later brought home to the Zionist leadership. Cohen also owes us an analysis of the possibility of gaining a Jewish state, the pros and cons of various partition proposals, and a thorough exposition of the case for and against Bi-Nationalism. The author's failure to develop these points makes his book a poor source for those interested in current problems. His careful description, however, is valuable for the average reader who wishes to study the history and development of the Zionist movement.

MARSHALL SKLARE

Einstein: His Life and Times, by Philipp Frank. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947. 298 + XXII pp. \$4.50.

The author of this very important book, Professor Philipp Frank, now of the Department of Physics in Harvard University, was formerly professor in the German University in Prague, Czechoslovakia to which he was appointed in 1912 as the successor of Albert Einstein, at Einstein's own suggestion. This, in itself, attests to a personal relationship of more than 35 years between these two scientists.

It should, therefore, occasion no surprise if a careful reading of this book discloses not merely accurate scientific scholarship and up-to-date information but also acute insight and deep sympathetic understanding of Einstein the man, the fighter for causes, as well as of Einstein, the scientist, the inventor, the genius, yes, even "the Myth of the Twentieth Century." In fact, if it were not for the necessarily more or less technical discussions in which the author attempts valiantly to introduce the backgrounds of, reasons for, and ways of approach by which Einstein arrived at his famous scientific theories and conclusions, it could truthfully be said that the book reads almost like a novel. (This despite the fact that the, in general, excellent translation made by George Rosen and the editing and revision by Shuichi Kusaka, still leave an occasional Germanism in the

text, which will strike the American reader as a bit harsh, or at least strange). More than this, a reading of this biography reminds one time after time of the old adage: "Truth is stranger than fiction." For example, the action-patterns and attitudes of perfectly reputable scientists, with regard to politics, nationalism, or racial notions, which one finds related repeatedly in this perfectly fascinating book, certainly are far stranger than fiction! And the official actions of the Prussian Academy of Science, as detailed here, are nothing short of scandalous; all the more so, when one remembers the supposed scientific eminence which a scholar must have achieved before he could even be invited to be a member of this most exclusive of learned societies. Yes: "Truth is stranger than fiction!" And these are only a few examples, chosen more or less at random.

However, even in those chapters in which Dr. Frank is telling the exciting story of Einstein's scientific work and contributions, the author has, on the whole, achieved an enviable record of combined fullness and brevity, of clarity and precision of statement. This was not a simple accomplishment. To be able to let the average educated reader get a really meaningful insight into the nature of the special and general theories of relativity, into the quantum-theory, into the search for unified field theory, and literally dozens of other—equally technical and intricate—problems of physics, mathematics, and the philosophy of science certainly constitutes no mean achievement. Yet Professor Frank has admirably succeeded in doing this very thing. From this point of view the book is a paradigm of lucidity and scientific insight, told on a level and in language which the average educated person should be able to follow with some real comprehension and understanding.

It can not be the present reviewer's purpose to give the reader a resumé or outline of Dr. Frank's book. This book needs to be read, page by page and chapter by chapter, by each reader for himself. Only thus can one gain even a slight comprehension of the nature and facts of this phenomenon of our century which is Einstein.

I wish to take issue with the author on only one major point in the book, and this is in Professor Frank's—rather obvious—attempt to make as much of a

positivist out of Einstein as possible (if not, indeed, a "logical positivist"). This attempt might, possibly, have succeeded if Mr. Frank's book had appeared after Einstein's death. As it is, however, the reviewer has had the opportunity of discussing the present biography with Professor Einstein himself, and that within a few weeks after its publication. On this occasion Einstein himself complained of this positivistic bias in Frank's interpretation of his (i.e., of Einstein's) thought and philosophy. Said Professor Einstein (and this verbatim quotation is authorized by him): "I was much nearer to a positivistic interpretation in my younger years than I am today." And then he added: "As a matter of fact, I am today not at all a positivist, inasmuch as I am convinced that there is no logical way from what is directly given in experience to the concepts and lawfulness of the physical sciences." (In a conversation in Einstein's home on March 25, 1947).

It is a bit strange, in any case, that Professor Frank should not have recognized Einstein's present position on this point more readily. For Frank himself points out what he seems to think of as an oscillation in Einstein's philosophy of science between metaphysical (or at least critical) realism on the one hand and positivism on the other. Yet, after this open admission on his part, Professor Frank concludes his discussion of these matters by saying that, although "Einstein's philosophy of science often made a 'metaphysical' impression on persons, this was true only of persons who 'are unacquainted with Einstein's positivistic requirements. . .'" (p. 218) As a matter of fact, Professor Frank could—once and for all—have very easily convinced himself of the (wishful thinking) error of this interpretation, if he had read (or remembered) Einstein's own—printed—words on this subject in his essay on "Remarks on Bertrand Russell's Theory of Knowledge," where, in the last two paragraphs of the essay, Professor Einstein expressly complains about Russell's strange "fear of metaphysics" and finally expresses his "particular pleasure" over the fact that, in the last chapter of his book *Earl Russell* finally seems to admit that "one can, after all, not get along without 'metaphysics'." (cf. *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell*, pp. 289-291).

Here, in words penned by Einstein himself as recently as 1944, is the definitive—

negative—reply to Professor Frank's interpretation at this point.

There is also at least one minor geographical error in this book which should be corrected in a second printing. Ulm, Einstein's birthplace, is not—as is incorrectly asserted on p. 6—in Bavaria but in Wuerttemberg.

However, what are such, after all, minor matters in a volume which is really a monumental achievement? For this is, when all is said and done, an authoritative and, within certain limitations, probably also a definitive treatise on the life and work of Einstein—at least in so far as such a work can be written by one man. Every intelligent and scientifically interested citizen of the modern world owes it to himself to read, to study, and to digest this admirable biography.

The present reviewer can think of no better way to close this review than to quote for the reader a recent sentence of Professor Einstein's which Dr. Frank has wisely chosen as the motto for his book. It reads: "The most incomprehensible thing about the world is that it is comprehensible."

PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP

The United States and the Near East, by Ephraim A. Speiser. With an introduction by Sumner Welles. Harvard University Press. 263 pp. Maps. \$2.50.

The central theme of this scholarly, and at the same time provocative, little volume is contained in the statement that the Near East constitutes "by reason of its position and its natural resources, and especially by reason of the fact that vital interests of the world's leading powers converge here and clash, the global center of gravity" (p. 236). The reference to position applies to the current development of the Near East as a strategic political and military area and as a major crossroad of world communications, particularly air communications. By resources is meant, of course, the vast present and potential oil supply of the region. These are the underlying factors which are responsible for the vital interests suddenly developed by the great powers of the world, which are closely interrelated with future world peace and security.

This is the second in a series of twenty-five volumes in preparation by the Amer-

ican Foreign Policy Library for publication by Harvard University Press, under the editorship of Sumner Welles. Quite rightfully, Mr. Welles emphasizes in his introduction that until the recent war no major region of the earth was more remote to us in the United States than the Near East, yet within the space of a few brief years this country discovered that region to be an integral part of the world where the "clash of empires directly affects every other people of the world."

The author, Ephraim A. Speiser, is Professor of Semitics at the University of Pennsylvania and an outstanding authority on the ancient and modern Near East, having worked in the field as well as doing extensive research in original source material. He has conducted five separate archaeological expeditions in the Near East, examined ancient sites, studied the life and customs of the Arabs, Kurds, Christians, Jews, and other peoples of the region, lectured in Arabic at Mosul (Iraq) and taught Comparative Linguistics in Hebrew at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Speiser is also a director of the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad and the author of numerous monographs dealing with linguistics, archaeology, and the history of the Near East.

The United States and the Near East presents a clear and comprehensive survey of the region's historical background and a review of the major political and economic factors and social forces which are shaping the destinies of the peoples of the Near East, the trends in the countries comprising the region, and the relations between the countries themselves and with the world powers. The book is divided into three main parts. Part I is devoted chiefly to a survey of the geographic, historical, and cultural factors which have shaped the civilization of the Near East from earliest times, dating back some 5000 years, to the period in the Middle Ages when the roots of Islam and Arabic culture became planted in that part of the world. Part II discusses the recent Near East, with special emphasis on the political, military and economic developments and their effects on the region during the two world wars.

Part III, the most important and largest of the three sections, comprises more than half of the book and is devoted to a penetrating analysis of the Near East's

present and future problems. These include problems of political strategy, the problem of oil, social and economic problems, the specific interests of Britain, Russia, and other foreign powers in the Near East, and last but not least the pivotal problem of Palestine. Part III ends with a discussion of U. S. interests in the region and the need for a definite U. S. policy in the Near East.

In discussing Palestine, the author gives equal and objective consideration to the Jewish, Arab, and British viewpoints and succeeds in avoiding emotional involvement, which is so often the pitfall of many students of highly controversial problems. In his view, Britain's apparent decision to hold on to Palestine under any circumstances is the most serious obstacle to a solution of the Palestine problem. He further regards all solutions which have been advanced to date, with the exception of one, as being "out of proper focus." His sole exception is the suggestion to establish international supervision over Palestine, such supervision to be based on the sympathetic understanding of the interests of Jews, Arabs, and British, all of whom must relinquish something in order to attain peace and stability. He dismisses such solutions as nationalism and materialism as being undependable trustees, and brands Britain's role in Palestine at the present time as that of "a contestant and a competitor, not as a benefactor."

Prof. Speiser does not consider Palestine an isolated problem, but is inclined to view it as an integral part of the whole Near East. To him, Palestine's present political difficulties represent a reflection and reverberation of the unstable conditions in the world at large, and not until this general situation is normalized will a solution of the Palestine problem be possible.

This brings into the picture the most recent arrival on the Near East scene—the United States. After tracing the growth of this country's interests in what was until fairly recently a remote part of the globe, the author asserts that as yet a far-sighted and mature foreign policy required to maintain those interests in the Near East remains unformulated. The U.S. still lacks a single comprehensive policy toward the region as a whole, save for the vague generalities of a democratically independent and prosperous Near

East. He offers the suggestions that our policy towards the region be based on a thorough understanding of its social and political problems, that we view the region as a geographic and economic unit in order that we may be enabled to comprehend more fully the far-reaching interdependence of its states and to realize that by pursuing an economic objective in one area we become involved in the political life of the whole region.

Finally, Prof. Speiser states most emphatically that our policy in the Near East must be entirely independent and divorced from that of the British or even from British influence. He warns that "it would be unfortunate if our interests and policy in the Near East were to remain in a state of permanent vassalage to Britain," while on another page he adds: "An Anglo-American bloc in the Near East may be to Britain's immediate interest, but it cannot be to our ultimate interest nor to the interest of the world at large" (p. 231).

Prof. Speiser's book is a valuable medium for the education of Americans in understanding the conflict of interests in a region where this country is becoming politically and economically involved beyond any measure ever attempted in peacetime. The book is absorbing reading for all concerned with world peace and security in the future. It is indispensable for all who wish to gain an understanding of the crucial problems of a region which once was the cradle of civilization and in our own day has become "the global center of gravity." MURRAY FRANK

Foundations of Democracy, Edited by Ernest Johnson. Distributed by Harper & Brothers. 1947. 266 plus 10 pp. \$2.00.

Unity and Differences in American Life, Edited by R. M. MacIver. Distributed by Harper & Brothers. 1947. 161 plus 8 pp. \$2.00.

Both books are published by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Foundations of Democracy represents a collection of addresses by sixteen scholars upon the origins, sources, and characteristics of democracy. Each address is confined to the analysis of a particular phase of the broader subject.

It is to be expected that any collection

of addresses by sixteen different people would represent varied sets of attitudes which, reflecting the diverse training and experience of many individuals, are not fully reconcilable in content, and that the style of the addresses would vary with the individuality of the speaker. Mr. Johnson mentions this in his foreword.

It is not feasible within the confines of a review of this sort to discuss the addresses separately. The book as a whole is, however, a valuable and useful record of the opinions of qualified scholars on a subject of vital importance to the United States today. The brevity of the addresses, as well as their subject matter, demands that they reflect the opinion of the speakers rather than take the form of strictly scientific treatises. This does not lessen their value, for in these days of world chaos, we in the USA need, more than ever, to see our problems in the large, and to understand the significance of some of our more basic and fundamental values.

Unity and Differences in American Life represents the third of a series of addresses under the general heading of "Group Relations and Group Antagonisms" conducted under the auspices of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies. Whereas *Foundations of Democracy* represents a collection of addresses on democracy written from varied viewpoints, with each address complete in itself, *Unity and Differences in American Life* is a book in which three groups of addresses follow in a connected series.

Mr. MacIver, in his introductory remarks, states "We—the great majority of us, all in some degrees—see other groups through a mist of prejudice and misunderstanding." In suggesting a path through such a mist, the book is divided into three parts. The addresses in Part I relate to some of the broad principles upon which our "American Way of Life" is based, and concerning which there is much common agreement. In Part II, some of the more concrete "Dividing Issues" are presented. Particular emphasis is laid upon some of the differences between the needs and attitudes of individuals whose lives are closely tied into various patterns of group behavior. In Part III an effort is made to suggest answers to the problems presented in Part II in relation to the broader framework in Part I.

A reader might feel a disappointment

in the book as a whole. He might contend with some justification that the problems presented were not of a sufficient variety of types to permit the drawing of valid conclusions upon which specific courses of action could be formulated. He might feel, also, that the addresses in Parts I and II, in themselves interesting and adequate, even though limited in range of subject matter, warranted the suggestion of courses of action more full and satisfying than can be found in Part III as a whole. It is simpler to state problems of a general and specific character than to formulate answers to them, but it seems unfortunate to raise a reader's hopes in the earlier part of a book and then, to some extent at least, let him down at the end.

JOSIAH V. LOW

Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, by Gershom G. Scholem. Schocken Books. 454 pp. \$5.50.

This present reviewer believes this is one of the great books in the Jewish field that has been published in our generation. Not only because it fills a need, but because it deals with an important phase of Jewish life most competently and sympathetically.

The study of Kabbala, to which this work serves as an admirable introduction, has too often been left to the mystagogues, and would-be thaumaturgists who were solely interested in learning the art of miracle mongering rather than in appreciating the philosophic implications of esoteric Judaism. The Kabbala has very frequently attracted Christian students from Pico de Mirandola, Renaissance savant, down to Arthur Waite and Eliphas Levi. Even the so-called translations, with the exception of the English of the Soncino edition, in Latin, French and other languages, have been poor.

Dr. Scholem, head of the Department of Jewish Mysticism at the Hebrew University, has really opened up a new field of studies, prepared and cultivated by him, and in which he is now joined by a group of promising students whom he has trained. His productivity is amazing. Most of his work is in Hebrew, either in book form or (largely) in articles in various journals. He has discovered, published, and explained manuscripts on mysticism hitherto unknown. He has interpreted personalities, for example, Na-

than of Gaza, who were before only names. His industry is only paralleled by his originality. He tries to do justice to a much misunderstood and abused movement in Jewish life and succeeds in his aim.

The present lectures deal with the history of the mystic idea in Judaism, giving the general characteristics of this current of thought, and tracing its history from the Bible down to the latest phase. In passing, it may be said that Kabbalists still flourish in Palestine, as well as in Brooklyn.

Dr. Scholem clears up many difficulties, and sets right many misconceptions, to cite again only one instance, about Sabbatianism. He shows how the mystic doctrines, not in their aberrations, of course, are part and parcel of what might be called normative Judaism, even that of the Halaka.

Every student should read this magnificent work. The publishers are to be commended for adding this volume to their Jewish book list.

FELIX A. LEVY

A Study of History, by Arnold J. Toynbee. An Abridgment of Volumes I-VI, by D. C. Somervell. Oxford University Press, 1947. 589 pp. \$5.00.

The thoughtful individual has always been fascinated by the story of his past as revealed in history, hoping to find the key to the riddle of his existence. Sometimes the naive rattle off a glib generalization as "History shows—" or the dishonest will select his facts to justify a totalitarian state; the cynical may conclude with Frederick Schuman that the lesson of history is that it has no lesson to offer. Two decades ago, Oswald Spengler dazzled the layman with an organic interpretation of history in his *Decline of the West* which opened the door to a philosophy of national aggression and fascism. Charles Beard performed a useful task in tearing up this fine fabric of the sinister imagination by exposing the guesswork and non-sequiturs underlying the Spengler notion of historical cycles which follow each other rhythmically. The Marxians, building on the prestige of the Soviet Union, have offered their own organic theory of the various stages that society passes through as a concomitant of the class struggle. The American historian, particularly, and his British colleague have always tended to be sus-

picious of organic philosophies of history in which determinism is at the basis, whether economic or ideological.

Toynbee's work, conveniently abridged in a single volume, reflects the non-dogmatic and positivistic approach of the Anglo-American tradition. It marshals a huge array of evidence from the most ancient life to the contemporary scene to support certain tentative generalizations. Although Toynbee recognizes the obvious fact of the growth and decay of civilizations, he rejects the organic notion that societies like plants have their inevitable periods of youthfulness and senescence. He raises the question as to why some primitive societies have developed into highly complex modern nations and others like our primitive contemporaries have remained static. He excludes the factors of race and comfortable conditions of life as the explanation; otherwise idyllic Nyasaland would have become a great state and rocky bleak New England would have been condemned to the hinterland of history. The explanation for a great civilization he finds in several factors: difficult terrain and virgin soil acts as a stimulus, provided the geographic terrain is not prohibitively bad. Iceland will succeed as a Viking outpost, but not forbidding Greenland. Often a defeat will act to force a people to make the best of its mental and physical resources.

This idea that greatness depends on an external stimulus is developed very interestingly in the case of the Jews. As a penalized class excluded from certain opportunities and privileges, they have responded by putting forth exceptional energy and capacity. Hebrew Civilization in ancient Judea decayed after the Jews had risen to the stimulating challenge of the Old Testament ideas and thereafter "rested on its oars" instead of going on to capitalize upon the universality of the New Testament. Frontier peoples, forced to deal with external pressures, have tended to gain in the stimulus offered by this experience. Some civilizations, like that of the Polynesians, after a promising development, have lost their stimulus and their energies and have joined the arrested civilizations of our day.

The dynamics of growth Toynbee finds in the relationship between a creative minority and the masses which imitate these leaders. The cultural elite may precipitate deterioration by suicidal militar-

ism, by unintelligent exploitation, by idolizing a formerly successful institution which can lead to a withdrawal of creative stimulus, or simply by "resting on one's oars" for other reasons. Civilized peoples, unlike tribal peoples, depend less on tradition for guidance than on gifted pioneer minds who experiment or choose novel and effective solutions to group problems. However, if the leaders are commercial exploiters or political demagogues, the results are disastrous.

Practically, this means that history cannot be successfully studied in terms of nations, but only in terms of societies and the interaction of cultural patterns and the intellectual elite. Toynbee apparently does not deny the capacity of the masses for creative experiences but then transmission for these qualities is relegated to a small creative minority. However, if the new social forces released by the creative minorities are not harmoniously adjusted, revolution and breakdown may result; it is not necessary that this adjustment be perfect—in fact it is best that the adjustment be only approximate—for continued growth to take place. Thus democracy has had an enormously stimulating influence on Western Civilization, but it has also carried with it the explosive forces of nationalism, intensified methods and extent of warfare, these results must be harnessed or deterioration and fascism results.

Toynbee has several interesting speculations on the future role of Russia. That country, under the leadership of Peter the Great, was forcibly taken away from its Oriental moorings and brought within the orbit of the West. Communism was adopted and spread as an anti-Western gesture, but the new Communist elite is evolving a fresh formula for integration with Western culture. ("The Great Society") "Can we go farther and say that Russia, being now incorporated into the Great Society, has at the same time been making a withdrawal from its common life in order to play the part of a creative minority which will strive to work out some solution for the Great Society's current problems?" This view of Russia runs counter to that of Hans Kohn (See his *Prophets and Peoples*) who has tried to prove that the Soviet Regime is the heir of the Oriental distrust of the West characteristic of PanSlavism and Dostoevsky's mystical hatred for "Europe"—i.e. excluding Russia.

Toynbee's work, impressive as it is, will evoke critics of almost every major generalization. He has avoided the most naive pitfalls, but has created some new ones. His disregard for the anthropologists, sociologists, and other social scientists outside of history has compelled him to rely on the resources of a single social science—history. Thus he has taken the trouble to "solve" problems of race and environment already disposed of elsewhere more satisfactorily. The modern history specialist, knowing that with all his wealth of existing documentation, he must submit regularly to revision by other scholars as fresh material is made available, cannot be too impressed by "definitive" studies of ancient cultures lacking such elaborate documentation. The reviewer, for example, who is an American History specialist, cannot agree with the evidence taken from American history. For example, to attribute the decline of Virginia and South Carolina to the effects of deferred recovery from the Civil War is to forget that the United States was shifting from an agrarian society to an industrial one in which the future of all staple crop states was dark. States like North Carolina, which could adjust themselves to the new Tobacco industry, escaped this doom. The world of Henry Ford and Morgan was scarcely that of Jefferson and Calhoun.

Nevertheless, this book will stimulate a good deal of valuable thinking. How it became a "best seller" is another of those peculiar mysteries which crop up occasionally in the publishing business. As a condensation of five volumes, in which the editor has limited himself to the language of the original as much as possible, the result is hardly literary. The physical format with its drab sheets, reflects the current paper shortage. Altogether, the reviewer is curious as to how many laymen who purchase the book actually have read it. Toynbee is definitely a historian's historian and only the well-equipped layman should attempt it.

HARVEY WISH

Beyond the Last Path, by Eugene Weinstock. Boni and Gaer, 281 pp. \$2.75.

There are documents without end to prove that the homicidal perverts known to an unfortunate world as Nazis committed atrocious crimes against humanity. The Nuremberg trials and the photo-

graph taken of putrid human flesh at Belsen will forever remain effective exhibits of the depravity of the Germans. Much is coming to light at this day further to demonstrate the awful character of Hitler's deeds. Much more will emerge. Germany's bid for recognition in the ranks of civilized people must wait until all of her crimes are known and there is available positive evidence that the Reich is ready and willing to expiate its murderous conduct.

This feeling—the desire that someone atone for wrongs committed—haunted me throughout the experience of reading this volume. What of the creatures responsible for the slaughter of millions of helpless innocent people? Thousands of them are today, “enjoying” peace and many of these will never be called to account for the horrors they caused.

Beyond the Last Path is the story of Eugene Weinstock, an Hungarian Jew, a carpenter, who, after dodging the Nazis for over two years, was caught and brought to the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, there to be enslaved. It is a day by day account of the workings of the Nazi prison machine and the process of extermination of all living beings who fell into its hands. Jews and Poles were especially singled out for an early end of their stay in Buchenwald. Beatings, starvation, and deliberate exposure to disease were commonly used to snuff out life. Because of the protests of the Swiss Red Cross crematories, at the time Weinstock found himself in prison, were not in operation to execute prisoners. This murderous institution was nevertheless in constant use for the quick disposition of the bodies of hundreds of inmates done away with daily at Buchenwald. The victims were left lying about only long enough for the experts to remove the gold filling from the mouths of the corpses.

Many are the methods Weinstock describes that were used by their captors to shorten the stay of the prisoners in Buchenwald; at times it was simply starvation, occasionally the machine gun. Mostly, however, it was the torture of incredibly long hours of work in the open and the ruthlessness of the executioners in hastening death in any form.

Eugene Weinstock withstood his appalling ordeal in order to tell the story of his sufferings and the agony of his fellow prisoners. He spent eighteen months in

a place that a Dante would have found difficult to describe. When peace terms are finally dictated to Germany the testimony of *Beyond the Last Path* must be considered in juxtaposition with the plea of the murderers for clemency. A “soft” peace would be a betrayal of the millions butchered at Buchenwald and elsewhere.

BENJAMIN WEINTROUB

There Was Once a Slave, by Shirley Graham. J. Messner. N. Y. 310 pp. \$3.00.

In one of his autobiographical writings the curly-headed brown plantation “nigger,” Frederick Douglass, who rose to become, not only a leader of the American Negro community, but also a distinguished United States civil servant and diplomat, relates what he felt when facing the Arch of Titus in Rome:

“This arch is an object which must forever be a painful one to every Jew, since it reminds him of the loss of his beloved Jerusalem. Surely none who has never suffered a like scorn can adequately feel for their humiliation, as they, for their abasement, were forced to pass beneath that arch where sculptured sides portrayed the sacred vessels torn, in the profanation of their Temple, from its Holy of Holies.”

Seeing Disraeli in London, Douglass refers, full of understanding, to the obstacles the British statesman had had to overcome on account of his Jewish origin. It is not surprising that a sensitive and intelligent American Negro like Douglass felt a keen sympathy for the Jewish people, suffering from discrimination like his own group, though in different ways. Likewise, it should not be difficult for Jews to grasp the Negro's striving for a higher status, to acclaim his fight for full civil rights. While Jewish Biblical law does not forbid slavery, it tends to humanize this institution; moreover, as far back as the period of the Second Temple there existed an anti-slavery movement among the Jews, supported by two ascetic sects. More recently, a large number of prominent Jews were abolitionists, and Jews were among the followers of John Brown.

One is reminded of these facts when perusing Shirley Graham's thrilling story—three quarter biography, one quarter fiction—of Frederick Douglass, *There Was Once a Slave*, for which Miss Graham, herself a Negro, received the Julian Mess-

ner Award of 1946 for the Best Book Combatting Intolerance in America. More often than once in her lengthy narrative she might have substituted the term "Jew" for "Negro" without depriving the sentence of its meaning. She makes a young Southern woman wonder whether Negro slaves really think like white people—well, this reviewer had a chance of learning from ex-Nazis, inmates of a concentration camp like himself, that German children had been taught at school that there existed an "Aryan" as well as a "Jewish" way of thinking! But more directly, the romance of Frederick Douglass is strongly reminiscent of the life of a certain Jew who escaped from the ghetto, who learned German without teacher or grammar, to become a leader in the realm of German culture. But unlike the philosopher, Salomon Maimon, who dissociated himself from his fellow-Jews, the self-made man Douglass remained loyal to his ethnic group. Maryland-born Frederick who, as a young man, fled from the misery of the South to the freedom of New England, was "drunk on books" like the Lithuanian Jew, Maimon. But from the day in 1841 when, at a Nantucket gathering of abolitionists, the 23-year-old fugitive told the audience the story of his fight and flight, Douglass, to his death in 1895, devoted all his mental and physical strength to the Negro's battle for freedom!

Miss Graham emphasizes that the slaveholders knew how more mighty the pen is than the sword, or, for that matter, the overseer's whip. Frederick's first master got very angry upon learning that his wife had taught the ABC to the intelligent colored boy: "It's against the law," he thundered. "Learning will spoil the best nigger in the world. If he learns to read he'll never be any good as a slave. The first thing you know he'll be writing, and then look out. A writing nigger is dangerous."

Douglass did become a "writing nigger," whose works still deserve to be read attentively. For seventeen years he edited the outspoken abolitionist paper, *The North Star*. Several Southern states set a price on Douglass' head, and anti-abolitionists made attempts to kill him. But he never retreated. During the Civil War he organized several colored regiments for Lincoln's cause, and during the Reconstruction Period he fought against

those who slyly tried to disfranchise the Negro again. The Negro-haters were, of course, horrified, when President Hayes appointed the former slave United States Marshall for the District of Columbia so that the huge bearded Negro appeared with white kid gloves, swallow tailed coat, patent leather boots and snowy cravat at the President's side during each White House reception—but it was no longer possible for them to turn the clock back to where it stood before January 1, 1863. What shocked them more, Douglass was even made U. S. Minister to the Republic of Haiti.

While throughout the book the spotlight is always focussed on Douglass, other 19th century Americans are also well drawn by the author, especially Lincoln, who received Douglass in audience; John Brown and William Lloyd Garrison (with whose ideas and strategy the book's hero often differed), Robert G. Ingersoll, who described Douglass as a man "with real living human sunshine in his face," and, last not least, brave and self-sacrificing Anna Murray, herself a slave, who became Mrs. Douglass. As a work of art, the volume would have gained, had the author refrained from including numerous lengthy passages from Douglass' own writings, as the complete disparity of style impedes the flow of the narrative. She could have retold these pages in her own melodious, if, at times, too slangy prose. Also, in her bibliography she ought to have given credit to Booker T. Washington, author of a comprehensive volume on Douglass. Perhaps she exaggerates a bit, here and there, in her hero-worship à la Carlyle, failing as she does to show any of Douglass' human weaknesses. But there is no doubt that Miss Graham made an altogether noble man the hero of her book, a man who set himself his finest monument when he wrote, in Garrison's *Liberator*, as early as 1846:

Though I am more closely connected and identified with one class of outraged, oppressed, and enslaved people, I cannot allow myself to be insensible to the wrongs and suffering of any part of the great family of man. I am not only an American slave, but a man, and as such, am bound to use my powers for the welfare of the whole human brotherhood . . . I believe that the sooner the wrongs of the whole human family are made known, the sooner those wrongs will be remedied.

ALFRED WERNER

Missouri Compromise, by Tris Coffin. Little Brown and Co. 315 pp. \$3.00.

It should be obvious to all that the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt ushered in not only a new era in American politics but a tragic one as well. Tris Coffin's, *Missouri Compromise*, presents an admirable review of the past two years of the Truman Administration—years that have been so costly to American ideals, both domestic and international. Written in an engaging style, this work captures the reader's interest from start to finish. In fact, the author's closing words on Senator Taft are rendered with almost prophetic vision of what the political future may hold for this country unless—and that "unless" involves every thinking citizen of these United States.

Coffin, formerly C.B.S. correspondent in Washington and now with the American Broadcasting System, paints his word pictures of men and policies with direct and graphic strokes. His intimate and revealing account of the little group of political "hacks" that President Truman has gathered about him is told in a straight-forward though somewhat satirical manner. The reader is introduced to an amazing parade of Congressional characters as they frolicked on the stage of history, either totally oblivious of, or completely ignorant of the great issues of our time. Without attempting to attach his own value judgments to politicians and their deeds, Coffin by his very understatement of fact has brought the debacle of Trumanism into sharp relief. His brilliant portrayals of the "Missouri" gang—John Snyder, James Vardaman, Harry Vaughan—weak men in strong positions, little minds in big jobs, supplies the key to the problem.

For these men are not to blame for their lack of statesmanship since none of them pretends to be any more than a small-town politician. Nor can too much censure be attached to Harry Truman, who as Coffin describes him is "proof of the argument that anyone can win political eminence given time, party regularity, and luck." The fault, if assessable, lies not so much with the politicians, but with the people themselves—you and me. It is the voting public that has consistently sent to Congress and the White House men of mediocre calibre, who think first in terms of political demands of their constituents with little consideration for

that larger statesmanship so badly needed in times of post-war chaos. It is the voter who has pushed the Congressman into a position of a "four-flusher, a glorified errand boy, or a wealthy uncle." Whether he be a Rankin, a Bilbo, a Clare Hoffman, or a Robert Taft, the men in Washington have arrived because the people sent them there. It is not corruption, graft, inefficiency, lobbying, or lack of political statesmanship that mounts as the major problem in America today. It is rather the sheer inertia and ineptitude of understanding on the part of the public as to the basic political issues.

Missouri Compromise is a refreshing study of the behind-the-scenes activity of ambitious men, unscrupulous leeches, predatory demagogues. It names names without vindictiveness. He calls a spade a spade; yet he lets the record speak for itself. His graphic description of the Ed Pauley case, Churchill's Fulton Speech, the stirring battle over price control mark him as a careful, meticulous reporter with a certain flair for the dramatic. His fair and objective treatment of the steel, coal, and railroad strikes of last year is in marked contrast to most of the shrill drivel that has been foisted on the American reader. The dread spectre of the atomic bomb should raise some uneasiness of mind as Coffin reviews the struggle of the military to gain control of atomic production. Add to this President Truman's "hero worship" of generals and much of recent American foreign policy stands stark naked to the discerning eye.

Henry Wallace's resignation takes on added significance as does the mournful results of the 1946 elections. Perhaps the crux of our present political difficulty is symbolized by a statement by Harry Truman while still Senator. After listening to an exciting debate on a major issue of policy-making, Truman said, "I wish I understood all of it." Yet, it is not only President Truman, Senator Taft, and others who do not understand, but we, the people, who have failed to understand the grave problems of domestic and international politics. *Missouri Compromise* may not provide the answers to the political questions of the hour, but a careful reading of Coffin's clear-cut, keen analysis will unquestionably increase our appreciation of the great need for understanding them as preliminary to the severe test of the on-coming 1948 elections.

ALFRED J. HOTZ

... and ... a happy new year

PAUL G. ANNES

President, City Club of Chicago

Resolve to serve your countrymen by exercising your franchise of free citizenship for the common good.

SAMUEL L. ANTONOW

No Jew may feel free while his brethren are at the mercy of conflicting imperialistic interests.

COL. JACOB M. ARVEY

March forward we must so that the sacrifices of those who died for us shall not have been in vain.

JUDGE JACOB M. BRAUDE

It is our duty to master the axiom that the youth of today is the master of tomorrow—and help prepare it for the tasks ahead.

MAX BRESSLER

We must awaken the conscience of the world to the enormity of its guilt before the Jew.

HENRY L. BURMAN, *Master in Chancery*

No minority in the United States is free if the smallest and the weakest among them are denied the boon of our Bill of Rights.

SAMUEL BYRON

The gigantic struggle just ended for the freedom and dignity of man makes us eternal debtors to the fighters for righteousness.

JOHN H. CHATZ

No decent tomorrow may be a reality while racial discrimination is preached or practiced.

SAMUEL DIAMOND

Our voice must be heard in vigorous protest against British oppression of fellow Jews in Palestine.

ARTHUR X. ELROD

County Commissioner

Our devotion to the best interests of this land of ours may be measured only by our contributions to its welfare in time, resources, and the integrity of our aims.

SAMUEL B. EPSTEIN

Master in Chancery U. S. District Court

Respect for law and love of Justice have been the characteristics of the Jewish people from time immemorial.

JACOB L. FRIEDMAN

Trustee, Sanitary District

Civic righteousness implies vigilance and sympathetic interest in all that makes for the welfare of a community.

JACK GOLDBERG

We shall shirk no task, however humble that would speed postwar reconstruction and bring on prosperity to these United States of America.

ALEX M. GOLMAN

For the salvation of our own destitute brethren in Europe a united leadership of Jewry is of paramount importance.

COL. HARRY G. HERSHENSON,

State Commander Jewish War Veterans

It is in our steadfast devotion to the traditions of Americanism that we may best express our loyalty to the cause for which the United Nations fought so gloriously and well.

A. PAUL HOLLEB

It is not the atomic bomb but man's own conscience that must be the deciding factor in determining a better world.

S. JESMER

Let us remember that in the ghastliest days of World War II Russia was one of the few countries that afforded shelter and security to the stricken Jew.

MAX KARASIK

No force is stronger and no influence has been more potent in making for the survival of the Jew than his devotion to Jewish lore and traditions.

DAVID A. KLEIN

Until a home and security is assured them, the appalling plight of the displaced Jewry throughout the world must never cease to concern us.

. . . and . . . a happy new year

ROY I. LEVINSON*President, Decalogue Society of Lawyers*

A crusading spirit should motivate us, daily, that no catastrophe of another world conflict ever takes place.

DR. N. D. LIEBERFARB

There need be no confusion about the issues of the day once we determine to champion the cause of the underprivileged and the persecuted.

JOSEPH LIPSHUTZ

Congratulations to THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM upon its Fifth Anniversary, and its record of intense and loyal service in the cause of decent journalism.

HARRY MARCUS

In these confusing times it is the duty of the Lawyer to serve as the enlightened interpreter of the Law of the land.

A. J. MINKUS, President, Chicago Hias

Throughout history offensives against the Jews have always been synonymous with vicious attacks upon democracy and decency.

BERNARD K. OFFENBERG

Let us, a free people, maintain constant vigil so that the forces of the dark never again emerge to threaten mankind.

MORRIS L. RAUER

No appeal from the ravaged lands of Europe where there are still pitiful remnants of surviving Jewry should be unheeded and unanswered.

WM. J. ROBINSON

It is in the strict observance of Jewish customs, ritual and tradition that lies the secret of the survival of the Jew.

HAROLD ROSENBERG

The most fortunate Jewry in the world—that of the United States—must not and will not deny its obligation to aid its co-religionists across the sea.

OSCAR SALENGER

Anti-Semitism is as great a menace to the well being and growth of democracy as it is to the Jew whom it aims to destroy.

A. J. SABATH*Congressman, Fifth District*

In these trying times the eyes of the world are upon the United States, the true arsenal of democracy for guidance and leadership.

MEYER SCHUMAN

Since the founding of this Republic the term "American" has stood for and will continue to stand throughout the world—a synonym for justice and righteousness.

JUDGE ULYSSES S. SCHWARTZ

May those whose task it is to heal wounds in a post-war world possess the wisdom of sages and the insight of prophets.

MICHAEL SHAPIRO

Though there is appalling confusion in the minds of many regarding the basic issues of the day there is, too, happily utmost confidence in the integrity of American aims and purposes.

WILLIAM M. SHAPIRO

Fascism in whatever guise is an enemy of progress and decency and none of us may afford indifference to its growth.

DAVID F. SILVERZWEIG

It is incompatible with our dignity as free Americans to remain silent regarding the hideous treatment by Britain, of our fellow Jews in Palestine.

ISIDORE SPINNER

If the United Nations should fail to arrange a durable peace the alternative will be a World War III and the tremendous sacrifices of the allies will have been in vain.

I. B. URY

For a true believer in a decent world a battleground is everywhere where the ideals of freedom are in jeopardy.

JACOB WEINBERG

It has been said and it is still true that no nation is really civilized that oppresses the minorities in its midst.

